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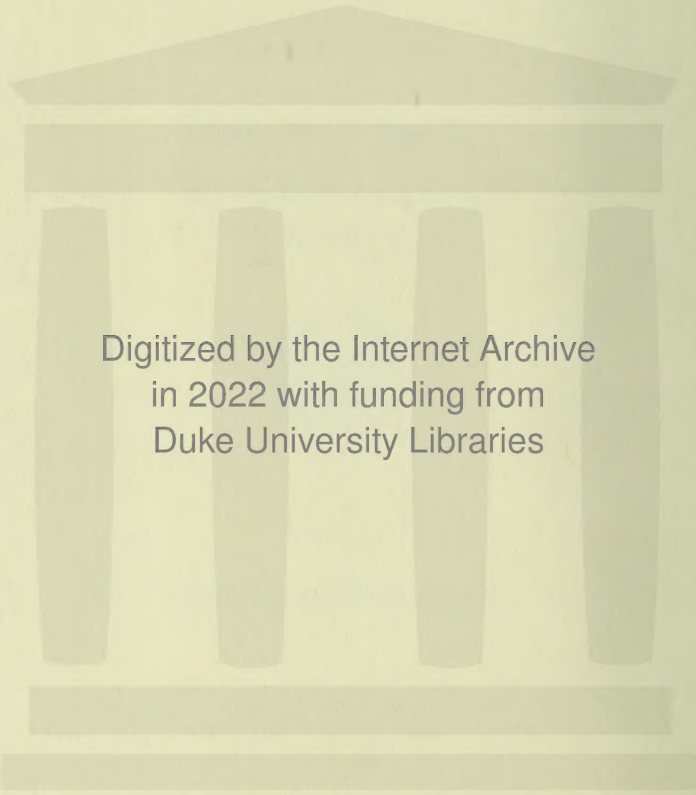
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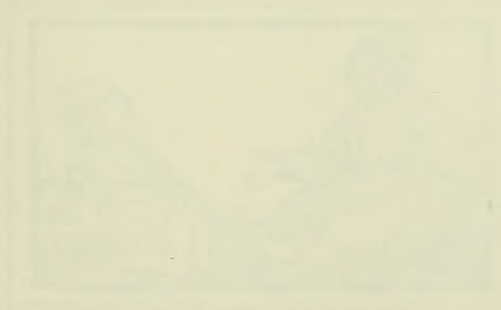
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MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES

Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute
of Medieval and Renaissance Studies
Summer, 1976

Edited by Dale B. J. Randall



Duke University Press, Durham, N.C.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES

Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting
of the Medieval and Renaissance Studies
Society, 1979

Edited by J. B. F. Kennedy



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Foreword

The eighth session of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies was held on the campus of Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, from 28 June to 6 August 1976. The present volume records the lectures that were delivered by the six Senior Fellows who conducted seminars that summer.

Fortunately time is shrinking the need for the Institute to introduce itself anew each time it steps forward with a fresh volume. Let it be noted simply, therefore, that in 1963 the Southeastern Institute was founded by Duke University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill with the aid of the Ford Foundation. The original endeavor was sparked by John L. Lievsay (then Professor of English at Duke, now Professor Emeritus) and by O. B. Hardison, Jr. (then Professor of English at UNC-Chapel Hill, now Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library). In 1965, the year of its first session, the aims of the Institute were twofold, and they remain so still: first, to encourage such concentrated research as is necessary for advanced scholarship in medieval and Renaissance studies, and, second, to enhance teaching at the college and university level, on the grounds that both research and teaching draw strength from a lively, interpenetrating relationship. Through the years the Institute has arranged a series of six-week summer sessions, each session consisting of several seminars, and each seminar devoted to a topic of interest to students of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The titles of the 1976 seminars together with the names of the Senior Fellows who led them and the Fellows who were enrolled in them are recorded in the *Appendix* of this present volume.

It is now a matter of history that the six seminars of the eighth session were particularly enhanced by a shared sense of purpose, a shared interest in quality, and a shared enthusiasm. Such a fact

Foreword

is not likely to be of overriding importance to a reader of this volume, and yet it may warrant preservation here in the relative seclusion of the foreword. As one Fellow put it, "The important purposes of the Institute, to provide an environment for scholarly work and to encourage the exchange of ideas, were admirably achieved." "All too often," according to another, "only lip service is given to interdisciplinary work, but these sessions proved its value."

Of course the Institute is much beholden. Deep thanks go to the appropriate officers of the National Endowment for the Humanities, which provided substantial support not only for the eighth session in 1976, but also for the sixth and seventh sessions in 1974 and 1975. Further thanks go to the officers of the Duke Endowment, who, despite ever-increasing demands upon their resources, came forth generously with necessary, supplemental funds. And many others deserve warm thanks, too: the University administrators who have been willing to champion the Institute, especially Provost Frederic N. Cleaveland and then-Chancellor John O. Blackburn; the Institute's six Senior Fellows, who gave so generously of themselves; and the various faculty members of the joint UNC-Duke Committee, including Professor Richard Pfaff, who joined the Committee as Co-chairman in March, 1976. Finally, the Committee is grateful to its secretary, Miss Madolene Stone, for her sustained and interested efforts, and to the two Duke University graduate students in English, Mr. Lowell T. Frye and Mr. Gary P. Lehmann, whose energy proved essential to keeping the Institute's wheels running smoothly.

With plans for the 1978 session complete now, and plans for 1979 underway, it is a pleasure to close with the thought (perhaps a comfort to librarians who worry about ephemeral series) that the wheels of the Southeastern Institute are still rolling smoothly and that they show promise of running on into the foreseeable future freighted with continuing high hopes and fruitful labors on behalf of medieval and Renaissance studies.

December, 1977
Durham, N. C.

D. R.
Chairman

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MEDIEVAL
AND
RENAISSANCE STUDIES

Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care

Leonard E. Boyle

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

Robert Grosseteste of Stowe, philosopher, theologian, and scientist, quondam chancellor of Oxford University, was elected to the see of Lincoln on 27 March 1235. He was then aged about sixty-seven and had a long and distinguished university career behind him.¹

We know very little of Grosseteste's thoughts on the pastoral care during his pre-episcopal years. As it is, even his career in general is known with any certainty only from his presence at Oxford after 1215. Possibly he had lectured in the infant university of Oxford between 1200 and 1209, and had, like so many other scholars of that period, departed England to return to Oxford only when King John and Archbishop Langton had composed their differences.²

From at least 1215 until 1235 Grosseteste taught at Oxford, and, after the arrival of the Dominicans and Franciscans about 1224, he helped the latter to organize their schools. These twenty years or more at Oxford probably afforded him no great experience of the pastoral care, although it is not unlikely that in the ten or eleven years preceding his provision to Lincoln as bishop he caught some of the apostolic spirit of the friars with whom he was daily in contact at Oxford.³

Possibly it was this contact that impelled him in 1225 to take up the *cura animarum* for the very first time. He was about fifty-seven and still a deacon when he was appointed rector of Abbotsley, Huntingdonshire, in April, 1225. When he became a priest is not certain, but presumably it was not long afterwards. The Third Lateran Council (1179) had ordered that those admitted to the *cura animarum* should become priests "within the time

appointed by the canons.”⁴ The Council of Oxford in 1222 was equally vague, specifying only that perpetual vicars should be ordained “within a short time” of institution.⁵ However, since Grosseteste was appointed to Abbotsley on 25 April 1225, in the third week after Easter, it may be suggested that he was ordained a month later on 24 May 1225, that is, on the Whitsun Ember Saturday, the nearest regular day for ordination to the priesthood after his institution as rector.

Some four years later he was made archdeacon of Leicester, and possibly he became a canon of Lincoln and prebend of St. Margaret in Leicester at the same time. Shortly afterwards, on the completion of the Franciscan schools at Oxford about 1229–30, he was persuaded to lecture formally to the Franciscans there.⁶

How much time Grosseteste was able to spare from his Oxford teaching to look after his archdeaconry and his two parochial churches (Abbotsley and Leicester St. Margaret) is not at all clear. There is some record of his activity as an archdeacon, and there is at least one act relating to St. Margaret in Leicester.⁷ At all events he soon found that the work was too much for him, and that the whole situation was distasteful.

In November or December, 1231, after an illness of which he wrote to his sister Juetta, a nun, and to the Franciscan Adam Marsh, Grosseteste decided to divest himself of two of his three preferments.⁸ As he related to the papal legate Otto of Tonengo some ten years later, he had had doubts about the propriety of his position as a pluralist with two *curae animarum* (Abbotsley and St. Margaret), and, indeed, had consulted the Pope on the question through the good offices of “a wise friend.” He had been informed by the Pope that it was utterly illicit to hold down two *curae animarum* simultaneously, in this case a regular parish church (Abbotsley) and a prebend to which a cure of souls was attached (St. Margaret).⁹

Grosseteste’s subsequent action, however, was not due to his illness, nor, as one might have expected, was it taken out of a desire to give undivided attention to a solitary *cura animarum*. For instead of doing the obvious thing and resigning one or the

other of the incompatible *curae animarum*, Grosseteste, it seems, immediately withdrew from both and also from the office of archdeacon, retaining only the sinecure portion of the Lincoln prebend of St. Margaret in Leicester: "You must know also," he wrote in that letter of November or December, 1231, to his sister Juetta, "that I have resigned all my sources of income, excepting my prebend in the church of Lincoln."¹⁰

Now it is generally held that because Grosseteste retained the prebend of Leicester St. Margaret in the cathedral church of Lincoln, he also continued as rector of St. Margaret, and thus in the *cura animarum*. In the light of the events which followed his renunciation of all but one of his benefices, it is difficult to allow this, for if some of his relatives were aghast at what appeared to be financial suicide, there were others who felt outraged at what seemed to them a callous rejection of the cure of souls. Indeed it is precisely of charges that he had fled the pastoral care that Grosseteste complained to the Franciscan Adam Marsh in late 1231, when he wrote to thank him for his letter of "sweet consolation" at a moment when he was enduring "bitter reproaches as well as the contempt of those close to me."

Some critics, in fact, thought that in this charge of desertion they had their surest shaft, but, as Grosseteste explained in that letter, he had, as Marsh well knew, an ample and ready defense. In the plainest terms, his decision was not due to any distaste for the pastoral care, but rather to an ever-pressing awareness of his inability to carry a burden he should never have dared to shoulder in the first place: "urgebat me impotentia agendi curam . . . quam minus circumspecte nimisque audacter susceperam."¹¹ He would be poorer of pocket, he wrote Juetta, but richer in virtue; his reduced circumstances should not, in any case, distress her, since she was a nun and poor by profession. In a way it was a comedown, he admitted to Marsh, but he was not at all downcast. One more occasion of sin, and a prolific one at that, was now behind him. He had come to understand what he should have admitted much earlier, that he was no fit instrument for the *cura animarum*. As he said to Marsh, his resolve had been "born of the fear of the Lord" and of an obedience which impelled him

to observe the constitutions of the Church. Of course, he admitted, he knew full well that these constitutions ordered that the pastoral care, once undertaken, should not lightly be abandoned. But, as Marsh was well aware, there were circumstances which could allow one to bypass the constitutions, and surely one of these was the sincere conviction of inability, by which inability Grosseteste now sought to explain, although not to justify, his recent renunciation.

In fine, Grosseteste shed the *cura animarum* more because of an acute awareness of the responsibilities of the pastoral care than out of a desire to shirk them. For some six years since his ordination as a priest he had been a fitful rector of the parish of Abbotsley, his first cure of souls; for the past two years, while shouldering the burdens of the archdeacon's office and teaching the Franciscans at Oxford, he had become an absentee rector not just of one but of two parishes. Knowing that his position was legally unsound, he dropped the living at Abbotsley. Realizing that it was impossible to teach at Oxford and act as archdeacon at one and the same time, he resigned his archdeaconry. Convinced, too, that at his advanced age the unaccustomed *cura animarum* was altogether beyond him, he relinquished the pastoral side (Leicester St. Margaret) of the Lincoln prebend. All that he retained was the canonry in the cathedral at Lincoln.¹²

Grosseteste was not destitute as a result. His Lincoln prebend had other holdings in Leicester besides St. Margaret. But without the rectory and church of St. Margaret, the prebend probably did not yield much of an income. Nor, seemingly, did it provide Grosseteste with a home in which to live out his retirement, nor even with the land and capital to put one up. A year after the above events, on 12 November 1232, a certain Walter quitclaimed to Grosseteste for fifteen marks four virgates of land in Leicester which the chapter of Lincoln warranted as belonging to Grosseteste's prebend.¹³ Some five months later (1 April 1233) the Bishop of Lincoln, Hugh Wells, drew up a will in which there was a legacy of forty marks to the canon (unnamed, but Grosseteste) of the prebend of Leicester St. Margaret, "towards

the construction of a dwelling-place for himself in his prebend, unless I shall have made him the grant he requested.”¹⁴

All of this hardly prepares us for what happened later. Within four years of fleeing the duties of a pastor so conscientiously in 1231, Robert Grosseteste was called at the age of sixty-seven to a much more exacting *cura animarum* as Bishop of Lincoln.

Was there again a shrinking from responsibility when faced with this heavier burden? Logically there should have been, if only to protect the sincerity of his previous action from suspicion. Certainly it must have been a wrench to have to leave Oxford at a respected old age, and to abandon the Franciscans before they were fledged academically. The late Sir Maurice Powicke, who did not advert to Grosseteste's earlier crisis of conscience, felt that the decision of this “elderly scholar” to exchange his life at Oxford for the duties of a diocesan had something to do with his friendship for and admiration of the new mendicant orders.¹⁵ Powicke, indeed, suggests that Grosseteste “must have heard” and possibly taken to heart a striking address by Jordan of Saxony, the successor of St. Dominic, when he preached at Oxford on St. Martin's Day, 1229. Jordan had issued a “challenge to the prelates assembled there to save the souls of the people throughout England.” And when he had gone on to wonder if “the salvation of all the parishes of England” would come from “their prelates residing at Oxford,” all that he could answer to his own question was, “God only knows, for I do not.”

Grosseteste and Jordan certainly met at Oxford. Indeed, Grosseteste reminds Jordan in a letter of 1237 how close they had become in those days.¹⁶ All the same it is curious that Jordan's challenge to the masters of Oxford on behalf of the *cura animarum* had to wait for some six years before it had an effect on Grosseteste, and that in 1231, two years after Jordan's address, a more immediate opportunity for a splendid gesture renouncing Oxford was allowed to pass when Grosseteste chose to withdraw himself entirely from the pastoral care. For my part, all that I can venture at present is that Grosseteste's urgent and dramatic consciousness of ineptitude in 1231 seems effectively to have dis-

appeared by the time that he was offered the bishopric of Lincoln in 1235.

I am not for a moment doubting Grosseteste's sincerity. In 1231, late in life, after some years of dallying with parochial responsibilities and an illegal tenure of two *curae animarum*, he had drastically purged his way of life. Now as bishop he would have an opportunity of spreading his own hard-won convictions and of making some compensation for any of his own neglect of the pastoral care during six years of avoidable absenteeism.

Much has been written about Robert Grosseteste as bishop. Indeed, in the wake of excellent essays in recent times by Srawley and Pantin¹⁷ and of many sensitive pages by Sir Maurice Powicke, it may seem superfluous to go over some of the ground again. Most of the incidents related here are well known and in any case may be found in detail in Stevenson's old biography of 1899. But some aspects of the episcopal career of Grosseteste bear repetition, just as there are others that may be looked at afresh.

From the very beginning of his long episcopate of eighteen years, Robert Grosseteste worked conscientiously and unflaggingly in his large and scattered diocese. In 1236, for example, a short year after his consecration, he instructed his archdeacons to oversee and care for the souls in his diocese "and to nourish them on knowledge and doctrine."¹⁸ Two years later he began a series of addresses to his clergy, urging them to preach by word and instruct by example. Since it was impossible for him to gather all his priests together into one place, he traveled from deanery to deanery, addressing the clergy of each deanery as a whole.¹⁹

Grosseteste, of course, was impelled by more than a great personal regard for the spiritual well-being of his people and clergy. Twenty years before his election to Lincoln the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had legislated widely for a renewal of the *cura animarum*. Within those twenty years strenuous efforts had been made in the Church at large to enforce or to forward these reforms. In England Richard Poore of Salisbury, Stephen Langton of Canterbury (at the Council of Oxford in 1222), and many other English bishops had legislated in the spirit of the Lateran

Council,²⁰ while the pastoral manuals of Robert Flamborough, Thomas Chabham, and Richard Wethersett had done much to popularize some of its principles. On the Continent there was local legislation of a similar nature, and there were the influential manuals of confession of the Dominicans Paul of Hungary, Conrad Höxter, and Raymund of Peñafort.²¹

Robert Grosseteste has no mean place in this tradition of synodal statutes and pastoral manuals. There are sermons, diocesan constitutions, homiletic tracts, and other pastoralia from his pen during his eighteen years as bishop; in all, they occupy some twenty-six pages of Harrison Thomson's catalogue of Grosseteste's writings.²²

Some of the sermons, indeed, are sufficiently long and well-knit to form tracts on their own. Thus Sermon 32 in Thomson's list occurs as a "*Sermo magistralis de virtutibus et vitiis*" in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (Rawl. A 446, not noted by Thomson). Similarly the short work which Thomson lists as "*De Confessione III*," remarking that "this work seems to be a sermon or an extract from a longer work," is in fact called "*Speculum confessionis*" by Grosseteste himself in his prologue and is so designated in the colophon of MS Harley 5441, fol. 147^v, in the British Library (another manuscript not recorded by Thomson).²³

On the other hand Sermon 31 (the famous "*Scriptum est de Levitis*" which the Lollard Purvey used at the end of the fourteenth century)²⁴ really is a sermon, though it could well serve as a useful pastoral manual and, in fact, is called "*De cura pastoralis*" in MS Digby 91 in the Bodleian Library. Preached to a clerical audience (possibly at one of the deanery gatherings) at a time when Grosseteste was "old and infirm," it deals with the three principal things in which the pastoral care consists: "*In doctrina secundum affectionem mentis; in ostensione simplicis conversationis et in administratione debita et devota sacramentorum.*" Among the many points in this sermon, Grosseteste proposes a model clerical day which includes a rather long period of study and spiritual reading. After Mass each day, he says, books are to be read until midday, adding that if a priest does not have books at hand he can always fall back on the missal and the bre-

viary. The Gospel for the following Sunday should be studied during the week. If any priest feels uneasy about his Latin he could, perhaps, persuade a neighboring parish priest to put him through the Gospel passage and prepare him for the Sunday Mass and his sermon at it.²⁵

Apart from his episcopal constitutions (a brief series of instructions of a pastoral nature for priests),²⁶ Grosseteste's most influential pastoral work is his *Templum Domini*. Written between 1239 (the probable date of the constitutions) and 1246, and possibly as a supplement to those constitutions,²⁷ the *Templum* survives in some eighty-five manuscripts.²⁸ Beginning from a description of the priest as the temple of God (1 Cor. 3:16), Grosseteste goes on to show that the temple of God which is in the soul of man has two parts, a corporeal part (of which the four cardinal virtues are the integral parts) and a spiritual part (of which faith is the foundation, hope the walls, charity the roof). The whole life of man consists in building up and preserving this temple ("In hoc ergo duplici templo aedificando et custodiendo consistit tota vita hominis"), the whole pastoral care in helping man to maintain it in its integrity. Since this is the function of a priest in caring for souls, then he, the physician of souls, must know intimately not only the foundations of the Christian edifice but also all those influences that can threaten or undermine it and that he must counteract in the confessional. Because of this, Grosseteste presents a table of sevens which lays out the various vices and the virtues that offset them. In his opinion, "the whole of the pastoral care is in this schema."²⁹

In this manner, moving gradually over the structure of the temple of the soul, feeling its strengths, baring its weaknesses, Grosseteste covers the articles of faith, the ten commandments, the principal vices and virtues, simony, usury, and excommunication. The whole *Templum* is thus primarily a statement of what a priest needs to know if he is to interrogate understandingly and counsel effectively those penitents who come to him. There is no list of penances, nor is there much about the imposition of penances. Indeed, since Grosseteste does not deal in any explicit way with these matters, or with interrogation as such, it

is conceivable that the *Templum* is only a part of a trilogy *De poenitentia*, the second and third parts of which are Sermon 32 (the confessional interrogatory mentioned above)³⁰ and the tract "Canones poenitentiales," which is a list of the traditional penances for certain types of sin.³¹ Hence the *Templum Domini* is less than a full-blown *Summa confessorum* and much more than an interrogatory. With its lists of definitions, its elaborate but well-defined schemata, it is in essence a mnemonic of the knowledge that is required of a priest who has to hear confessions. Its mnemonic quality, together with the fact that the *Templum* covers synoptically almost as much ground as Robert Flamborough's *Liber poenitentialis* and Richard Wethersett's "Qui bene praesunt," assured its popularity. In fact it may be suggested that, broadly speaking, the *Templum* is a schematization of these two treatises, both of which had been in circulation in England for some twenty years. Some of the mnemonic verses which appear in some manuscripts of the *Templum* come from the "Qui bene praesunt," while some of the canonical matter has definitely been adopted from Robert Flamborough.³²

One *Summa* of consequence, however, that of Raymund of Peñafort, does not appear to have had any influence on the *Templum*, although by the time the *Templum* was written Raymund's famous *Summa* was known in England and, indeed, had been used extensively by writers as far apart professionally as the moralist Odo of Cheriton and the theologian Richard Fishacre.³³ Ten or eleven years earlier, when writing to Raymund shortly after becoming Bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste had to confess that he knew of Raymund and his writings only from hearsay.³⁴ Perhaps he had still to make the acquaintance of the *Summa de casibus* when he wrote the *Templum Domini*.³⁵

With all this pastoral activity and writing, Grosseteste's life was very full indeed. Yet he found time for the translation of various works from the Greek, a notable example of which is the version, the first ever in Latin, of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* in 1245.³⁶ And if he invited some competent scholars from abroad to help him in this work of translation, he was always on the lookout also for scholarly men for the *cura animarum* itself.

As he wrote to his archdeacons in 1244, his diocese was not in the happiest shape. Some priests had concubines; others were not saying the divine office properly; still others would not hold the divine services at hours convenient for the people or, stupidly, would not allow the Dominicans and Franciscans to preach in their parishes.³⁷

To offset the spotted quality of his clergy, Grosseteste began shortly after his consecration to borrow Dominicans and Franciscans, those free lances of the pastoral care,³⁸ and to entice well-educated priests back to or into his diocese. There is, for example, a notable appeal in 1235 to a young man in Paris to return to the diocese: "Christ descended from the bosom of the Father into the womb of the Virgin and went to His death on the Cross for the sins of mankind, yet you, young man, are aghast at the thought of coming down from your master's chair to save those same souls by word, example, and prayer." This will not do, he says. At best he can allow the young man (Cerda) another year at his books. In the meantime the parish will be held for him, and suitable preachers provided to look after the cure of souls.³⁹

Two years later Grosseteste offered the archdeaconry of Lincoln to a Master Thomas Walleys. Suspecting that Walleys would find it hard to leave his university, he wrote to encourage him:

But if it is better to teach than to preach, could not the Son of God, the highest wisdom, have been content to teach wisdom rather than to go about healing the sick and humbly preaching to the people? With the help of Christ you will not be deserting wisdom if you take on this office. Rather will you find it more abundantly in the *cura animarum* and teach it in practice.⁴⁰

The same ideas are found in a letter of 1237/8 offering a prebend at Lincoln to Master Richard of Cornwall, an Englishman resident in or teaching at Rome: "Do not be filled with distaste at the thought of coming down from the high places of Rome to look after English sheep. It was precisely to redeem these same sheep that the Son of God descended from the seat of majesty to undergo the ignominy of the Cross."⁴¹

The pressing problem, however, that Grosseteste had to face

was not so much that of attracting good and learned priests to his diocese as that of keeping indifferent or illiterate ones out. From the very beginning of his episcopate he dealt firmly and on occasion ruthlessly with clerics presented to a benefice in his diocese by some patron or other. Presentation to the *cura animarum* was, in Grosseteste's opinion, a serious business without room for any form of favoritism or foolhardiness. Ability and obedience had been the measures of Grosseteste's resolve that in his own case the best way to advance the *cura animarum* was to quit it altogether. These were now to be the yardsticks by which all persons presented to him, and all things in any way connected with the *cura animarum*, would be measured implacably. In fact the very first letter we possess for the period after his election (April-June, 1235) exhibits a force and resolution which, hardening with adversity and the passage of time, in the end would not spare the papacy itself.

Shortly after Grosseteste's election, it seems, a certain Master Michael Beleth had written to criticize his rejection of a presentee to a parish living. Grosseteste answered Beleth with savage courtesy.⁴² The cleric in question, he said, was an untoured deacon who, upon inspection, had proved to be well-nigh illiterate and, with his ring and red getup, was for all the world a layman or a soldier. In short, he was a living example of the sort of thing that the recent council at Oxford in 1222 had condemned. As for the monk who had presented this deacon, Grosseteste told Beleth that he had rebuked him with some severity. He was a monk who was obliged by profession to court death for the sake of souls, yet he had brazenly sponsored one for a *cura animarum* who manifestly would bring death to those for whom Christ had shed His blood. If this was all that the monk cared about the blood of Christ, then surely he would wind up in hell.

This summary treatment of the monk apparently had given widespread offense. Grosseteste, however, was at no pains to excuse himself to Beleth. Master Beleth, he wrote, could see for himself from the facts that no injustice had been done, no lie had been told, no truth had been suppressed. The monk-sponsor was in truth exposing souls to death, souls for which Grosseteste,

their bishop, was responsible before God: "ego . . . teneor pro qualibet animarum illarum." This was not an occasion for half-measures, he reminded Beleth. It was not enough to reject the presentee; his mentor, too, had to be castigated. A wise doctor, he added, will thrust gentleness to one side where a deadly virus is concerned. "Saving their reverence," he concluded, "those who have criticized and condemned a corrective action which, as God is my witness, proceeded from a love of souls and a great fear for their salvation, are more taken up 'with the things that are their own than with the things that are of Christ Jesus'"—citing a passage from 1 Philippians (2:21) which we shall hear of again in a more explosive context.

From this first extant letter of Grosseteste's episcopate three principles emerge which may be said to have governed his whole approach to pastoral matters over the next eighteen years:

1. A bishop is directly responsible to God for every soul in his diocese.
2. A man lacking ability or a full respect for the law of the Church is no safe shepherd of a flock.
3. The rejection of an unworthy presentee is not enough. The evils inherent in the system of presentation must be struck at precisely where they are rooted, in those, that is, who presume to present. These must be made aware of their responsibility to present proper people, and to present them properly.

In one form or another these principles were to be invoked or acted upon by Grosseteste on every possible occasion and without respect of person. The basic principle, of course, is his conviction that a bishop is personally responsible to God for each and every soul in his diocese. In fact he was so possessed by it that he was moved on occasion to preach it to his brother bishops, and, indeed, to archbishops of Canterbury and to papal legates. It finds its fullest expression perhaps in a famous letter to the chapter of Lincoln some four years after his election.⁴³ Of course this lengthy letter (nearly eighty pages when printed) was not conceived in an entirely disinterested spirit, for Grosseteste's

own rights over the chapter were at stake. Yet there is very little rancor in the letter, and very little intrusion of self. All Grosseteste's energies may be concentrated on proving that a bishop has a right to make a visitation to the chapter of his cathedral church, but his arguments rest on an objective consideration of the office of bishop. If he felt sorely tried, as must have been the case, he apparently kept personal considerations in the background. He was convinced, naively perhaps, that his only hope of asserting his authority was not to browbeat his wayward canons but to reason with them on purely impersonal grounds (drawing on the scriptures, Gregory the Great's *De cura pastoralis*, and St. Bernard's *De consideratione*, for example), and to rely on the appeal and pungency of cases of common jurisdiction as supporting evidence.

In his letter to the chapter of Lincoln, Grosseteste sees the bishop as the *pastor ovium* who is so devoted to his charges that he is ready to die for each one of them. He will not let them stray; he must protect their pastures from any depredators, and will never be content to leave them wholly at the mercy of subordinate shepherds. The bishop must be the light of his diocese in exactly the same way that the pope sheds his light on the bishops at large. He is wed to the souls of his diocese, and like any husband will not be bashful to correct any signs of loose living or unseemly conduct in his spouse, the diocese. The bishop, above all, is the ruler of souls, the watchman of the vineyard of the Lord, the shepherd who must feed his flock on judgment and justice as well as on knowledge and doctrine.

The principle of personal responsibility has in this letter its most elaborate expression. But it is to be seen more forcefully, perhaps, in the many instances of its application in letter after letter during the rest of Grosseteste's episcopate. It underlies his reply in June, 1235, to Walter Raleigh, treasurer of Exeter, whose candidate Grosseteste had refused because he was "scarcely in his Ovid" ("puer videlicet adhuc ad Ovidium epistolarum palmam porrigens"), and his institution to a cure of souls would "open the way to hell for both of us."⁴⁴ Grosseteste acted on the same principle in 1236 when he rejected a relative of John Blund, the

scholarly chancellor of York, stating that to admit him to a cure of souls would incur the stain of sin, since the young man was not only insufficiently educated but also effectively illiterate.⁴⁵ It is explicitly present in a letter of 1239 in which Grosseteste states that he "does not dare" institute an "almost illiterate" nephew of John Romeyn, subdean of York, "for the very good reason that there are none more worthy to be damned than those who advance or procure the preferment of persons to a *cura animarum* who are incapable or ignorant, or are unwilling to look after their charges."⁴⁶

Poor Romeyn. Four years before this, when quite reasonably he had asked permission of Grosseteste to farm out his parish in the Lincoln diocese because he was subdean of York and could not attend properly to it, Grosseteste would not allow that this was sufficient reason, for, as he put it, "farming entails the servile subjection of the Church of Christ and would make me a traitor to the souls entrusted to me." It is possible that Romeyn's position was not at all helped by the fact that the papal legate Boezio had attempted to intervene on his behalf. Grosseteste told Romeyn, rather sharply, that he was to inform the legate that he had not, as the legate had implied in his letter, arbitrarily refused permission to farm but had based his decision on decrees of the Council of Oxford. He was also to let the legate know that Grosseteste was not at all impressed by threats such as the legate had indulged in in his letter.⁴⁷

The successor of Boezio as legate, the able and well-liked Otto of Tonengo, did not fare any better. Although Otto had invited him to preach at the Council of London in 1237, shortly after the legate's arrival in England, Grosseteste in the year following refused to give a prebend specified by Otto to a clerk in his service, an Italian named Master Atto. There were excellent reasons, Grosseteste wrote, for not being able to accede to the legate's request. The first and most pertinent was that the prebend in question had already been allotted to someone else. The second was equally good—he simply could not accept Atto. The legate well knew, Grosseteste went on, that he would do anything in the world for the Pope and for the legate which would

promote faith and charity, but not anything which would lead to the disruption of charity. And since he was obliged to live by the Gospel, he was going to speak plainly and clearly. No fear of the legate's power would stop him: "non coercebit me vestrae potestatis timor."

He was fully aware, he assured Otto, that the Pope and the Roman Church had the power freely to dispose of benefices. He was also more than aware that the abuse of that power brought with it a danger of hellfire, and that the use of that power for purposes other than the promotion of faith and charity was an abuse. Now, he argued, to confer an ecclesiastical benefice without consulting its patron, as the legate had done when he specified what benefice his clerk should have, was surely to disrupt faith and charity. He was always ready to consider candidates of the legate if only Otto would go the right way about things. All that he could do at the moment, however, was humbly to ask Otto to withdraw the present candidate.⁴⁸

Otto seems to have taken the rebuke to heart. Shortly afterwards he sent letters in a proper *forma deprecatoria* to Grosseteste on behalf of Thomas, son of the Earl of Ferrers. Grosseteste was more polite this time, but he turned Thomas down all the same, on the grounds that he was under the canonical age and not in orders.⁴⁹ Three years later, the legate was rash enough to present his clerk Atto once more. Grosseteste's reply was as neat as it was pointed. He was aware, he told the legate, that Atto was a good fellow and was generally held in high esteem for learning as well as morals. But he seemed to remember that the legate had once told him that Atto had no dispensation for a plurality of benefices, especially for those with a *cura animarum*. This was too bad, he said. Once upon a time he himself had been in a similar position and had had to take the hard way out. In any case, he went on, it was very doubtful whether the Italian Atto would really take to Lincoln. He was a plant used to the sun and the warmth of southern regions; the northern clime would hardly suit him. There was always a danger that such a plant would not bear fruit away from its natural habitat: "A wise gardener in a cold region will know that he should choose plants from that

region, for although they are not equal in quality to the luxuriant plants of warmer climes, they will at least bear fruit." All the same, Grosseteste concluded, he himself would prefer not to have to take the final decision on Atto. Given the circumstances, he would leave the whole thing to the "stronger sanctity, the fullness of power, the more illuminated wisdom, the invincible vigor" of the legate himself.⁵⁰

Application of the principle of personal responsibility for every soul in a diocese was not, however, confined by Grosseteste to the context of presentation. In the vexed question of the appointment of priests and clerics as itinerant justices, Grosseteste opposed the King's mandate to the abbot of Ramsey in 1236, largely because the abbot's soul was in his care. Shortly afterwards he appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury—later St. Edmund of Abingdon—to do something about clerical itinerant justices, "because the souls of those appointed are in danger of hellfire." And when Edmund hesitated and suggested that it would be better to wait until a council was called, Grosseteste wrote him again, this time asking for a straight answer to the question, "If religious sin when they act as judges, and clerics, too, who submit themselves to secular courts, how are we, who have the care of souls, to escape sin when we allow them to sin in this way even once?"⁵¹

But Edmund, it appears, remained irresolute, so Grosseteste in that same year (1236) abandoned pleas for direction from Edmund in favor of a statement of fact, the result being a long letter on violations of the liberties of the Church in England. It was abominable, he wrote to Edmund, that a man dedicated by office to the pastoral care should become involved in secular affairs. In his opinion all those guilty of such anomalies, and all those who choose to ignore them, sin gravely, as does the King when he compels the execution of mandates to abbots and other clergy to act as itinerant justices. And what excuse, he asked Edmund, will be made before the divine tribunal by bishops who do not contest these practices with all their might?⁵²

In particular, Grosseteste kept an eye on episcopal elections. Five years after his own election to Lincoln, when an election to

Hereford was pending, he wrote Edmund of Abingdon on the perils of bribery and influence at elections, and, quoting Ovid ("Sero medicina paratur, cum mala per longas invaluere moras"), concluded that a pastor elected in this way can bring only death to the flock over which he is put in charge.⁵³

Two years before this, when rumors were circulating that the King was forcing his own nominee on the electors at Winchester, Grosseteste once more trained his sights on the legate Otto and opened up on him with intent. Otto must know, he wrote, that a person who occupies a pastoral post and does not feed his flock on knowledge and doctrine brings nothing but death to himself and his flock. If this type of bishop is elected at Winchester, all those who connive in any way in that election are accessories to that death. "God forbid," he wrote, "that a ship of the magnitude of Winchester should be handed over to a captain who is ignorant, negligent, or laboring under some disability, or that anyone should procure or consent to such an appointment, or that anyone in a position to stop the appointment should not raise a hand."⁵⁴

Needless to say, the usually urbane legate took offense at the sting in the tail of a letter which, as it happens, mystified him completely. Grosseteste, in replying, thanked Otto for his elegant letter ("dulcifluo diligentique stylo"), but admitted that his own letter had been, in a Horatian sense, somewhat cloudy: "Brevis esse laboro et obscurus fio." However, he went on, if things were left unsaid, they should have been all the more evident for their omission. The sentiments expressed in his letter, he said, could be compared to the exhortation of spectators at a fight or a horse race. Every sentence, every word of that letter, was written in order to spur Otto on in the contest which was in progress over the Winchester bishopric. What he wanted to do in that letter was to bring out the best of Otto's zeal for the things of God so that eventually, with Otto's cooperation, God would provide Winchester with that quality of pastor which Grosseteste knew to be necessary there.⁵⁵

If this letter to the legate was delicately devious, the letters to Edmund of Abingdon on justiciars and elections were almost

insultingly direct—a call to the Archbishop to stand up like a man of God to the King. It is as though Grosseteste's own personal zeal for the good of souls had broken out of the confines of his own diocese in a spirited (some might say meddling) attempt to communicate the vitality of his concept of the episcopal office to those of his confreres who, flagging in their resolve, were all too easily overawed by majesty. His blithe self-confidence was encouraged, perhaps, by the ease with which he had circumvented Henry III at an early stage of his episcopate. Writing to excuse himself for rejecting a certain nobleman's presentee as prior of Kyme monastery, Grosseteste asked the nobleman not to take the rejection badly. He should not be shy, Grosseteste said, of imitating the King's example, for, "as I may confide to you, when I squelched elections in several royal monasteries and, without a word to the King, appointed one of my own men on the authority of the General Council [4 Lateran], the King took it all without a murmur."⁵⁶

It would not always be so. Although Henry seems to have had a warm regard for Grosseteste, there were times when, understandably, he was vexed with him. And if Grosseteste, on the other hand, had on one occasion in 1242 to apologize to the King for his seeming neglect of him and his family,⁵⁷ this did not prevent him a year later from taking the King to task for writing an encouraging letter to a rebellious group in Bardney monastery, Lincolnshire. Asking the King to retract his letter, Grosseteste stated plainly that no non-ecclesiastical power, no matter how exalted, had the right to nullify or modify something done by a bishop in his own diocese.⁵⁸

Some two years later, in 1245, Grosseteste once more had a brush with King Henry when he refused to admit a Forest Judge, Robert Passelewe, whom the King had presented to the church of St. Peter, Northampton. Explaining to Henry that he had done this out of "fatherly love for the royal person and for the salvation of the judge and the souls of the said parish," Grosseteste told him that he had informed Passelewe himself that to admit him to a *cura animarum* would be to go against divine and

canon law, and to commit a breach of the profession of faith he had made at his consecration as bishop.⁵⁹

The Passelewe affair, however, did not rest there. The judge made an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury, now Boniface of Savoy, to compel Grosseteste to institute him to Northampton—an action that drew a splendid letter from Grosseteste in that same year, 1245. The duty of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he wrote Boniface, is, as head of the bench of bishops, to applaud enthusiasm and reprimand negligence; it is not to attempt anything iniquitous. The Archbishop was well aware, he continued, that Grosseteste had refused repeatedly to admit Passelewe to Northampton, for the very good reason that Passelewe would not resign his appointment as a Judge of the Forest. Yet the official of the Archbishop, who had been sent by Boniface with an order to Grosseteste to admit Passelewe, had now seen fit to command Grosseteste to institute the judge to Northampton within eight days. Otherwise the institution would be done by the official himself.

Grosseteste implored the Archbishop to restrain his headstrong official and to help rather than hinder the pastoral care in which the suffragans of the Archbishop were engaged. He repeated to Boniface what he said he had already written to the official: that indeed he would obey an order of the Archbishop in all things lawful, but not in a matter so clearly contrary to divine and human sanctions. To Grosseteste, the Forest Judge was engaged in secular pursuits, and was so incapacitated canonically by these and other concerns that he was not only unfit for the pastoral care in Northampton but utterly unworthy of any pastoral office whatever. To order the admission of such a man to the *cura animarum*, as Boniface the Archbishop had done, was, Grosseteste felt, nothing other than the crime of idolatry. The only possible outcome would be the eternal damnation of the judge and the loss of all the souls in the parish of St. Peter in Northampton. And, he reminded Boniface, there would always remain a suspicion that it was fear of the King and not zeal for justice which was at the back of the action of the Archbishop.⁶⁰

It is a lengthy step from attacking noblemen, canons, archbishops, papal legates, and a king to reprimanding the papacy itself in the interests of the *cura animarum*, but Robert Grosseteste eventually took it. Given his obsession with the pastoral care and his horror at the evils of presentation and provision, it was inevitable.

In 1250 the papal curia, then at Lyons, had a foretaste of what was to come when Grosseteste's pointed criticisms of curial venality and insensitivity to the needs of the pastoral care caused a considerable flurry.⁶¹ In a memorandum presented personally to the Pope (Innocent IV) and his cardinals on 13 May 1250, Grosseteste charged that the curia was "the prime cause, font and origin" of all the evils that beset the pastoral care: "Sed quae est huius tanti mali prior et originalis causa, fons et origo? Dicere vehementissime tremesco et expavesco. . . . Causa, fons et origo huius est haec curia." Not only did the curia not prevent abuses, but by its dispensations, provisions, and collations it multiplied bad pastors and handed precious souls over to destruction.⁶²

Three years later, in 1253, Grosseteste descended from the general to the particular in a manner that startled some but should not have been a surprise to anyone. He flatly refused to accept a provision of a canonry at Lincoln which had been made to a nephew of Pope Innocent, Federico da Lavagna. Grosseteste's letter rejecting the provision survives in some nineteen manuscripts and is also to be found in the *Chronica maiora* of Matthew Paris, the Annals of Burton, and the letters of Roger Marsh.⁶³ It is as pointed as it is brief. All obedience, Grosseteste allowed at the beginning of his reply, is due to apostolic mandates. Certain conditions, however, govern these mandates, he went on. The first is that the mandates must respect the teaching of Christ, whose representative the Pope is, and that of the apostles. The second is that they must be in accord with the "most divine sanctity" of the apostolic see, a sanctity which can never contradict Christ's teaching.

Now, Grosseteste argued, the tenor of the letter that provided the Pope's nephew to a prebend in Lincoln was not in harmony with that sanctity. Rather it was off-pitch and dissonant. For one

thing, since it was strewn with "notwithstanding" clauses, which have no necessary basis in natural law, it could only lead to "a cataclysm of inconstancy, audacity, lying, distrust, and the like," thus dissolving the purity of the Christian religion and disrupting peace. For another, if one omits the sin of Lucifer, there was not, in Grosseteste's opinion, a genus of sin so far removed from the teaching of the gospels and the apostles and so abominably pernicious as that of the condemnation of souls to death and perdition by defrauding, cheating, the pastoral office and ministry. The pastoral ministry should be the way to life and to salvation. Those, therefore, who minister the cure of souls in a slipshod way stifle the life of God in the sheep committed to their care, and approximate Lucifer and Antichrist more closely than any other murderers. And the greater the divinely given power of ministers such as these, the more urgent is the duty of the Church to exclude and to extirpate them.

This being the case, the Holy See, endowed as it is by Christ with the highest possible power, cannot conceivably order or connive at a sin so pernicious to the human race and abominable to Christ as that of cheating and defrauding the pastoral care. If it should, it would join the other two princes of darkness, Lucifer and Antichrist, on the seat of pestilence. An order such as this from the Holy See, or for that matter from the highest in the angelic hierarchy, could not be obeyed for a moment. The only course to be followed in such an event would be absolute and relentless rebellion.

Because of this, Grosseteste concluded, and "because of the obedience by which I am bound to the Holy See as to my parents, and out of my love of my union with the Holy See in the Body of Christ, as an obedient son I disobey, I contradict, I rebel against, the things contained in the letter of provision in question, and particularly because they clearly verge upon the aforementioned sin which is so pernicious to the human race and so detestable to Christ."

It was impossible, Grosseteste was sure, for those to whom he had addressed his letter to make things difficult for him because of what he had written. And this for the very simple reason that

"my every word and deed in this position I have taken are neither from contradiction nor rebellion but from the honor due by God's command from a son to a father and mother." What he had tried to say, he repeated briefly, was that the holiness which is present in the Holy See cannot be for destruction but only for building up, because "this is the fullness of power: to be able to do everything constructively." The "so-called provisions" do not build up, but make for destruction. It is not possible, therefore, for the Holy See to act on them. It is "flesh and blood," which shall not possess the kingdom of God, that "hath revealed" them and not "the Father" of Our Lord Jesus Christ "who is in Heaven."

This is a very famous letter, and it has had many interpretations. To some the letter makes Grosseteste a sort of pre-Wycliffite "Morning Star" of the Reformation. To others it is heroic though illogical. To still others, Powicke and Pantin for example, it is psychologically understandable, proceeding out of the nature and demands of the pastoral care as seen by Grosseteste.⁶⁴

A recent explanation is that of Professor Tierney, who has shown that far from being illogical in "rebellious obedience," Grosseteste was in fact perfectly consistent with the prevailing opinion of his time (an opinion shared by Innocent IV himself) that "there was no certain presumption that every papal command was consistent with the divine will nor supported by divine authority." In effect, Grosseteste was making a distinction between the person of the ruler and the institution that he represented, a distinction which had been a well-known one of canonists for the half-century before his seemingly astonishing letter.⁶⁵

It may be useful, however, to take a look once more at Grosseteste's letter (128 in Luard's edition) and at the so-called papal provision that occasioned it. As I shall suggest, both letters have been taken too much for granted in the long history of the interpretation of Grosseteste's action.

Let us consider the "papal provision" first, since it is crucial to an understanding of what Grosseteste was about in letter 128. Contrary to what one would gather from various writers over the past hundred years, the original provision to the Pope's nephew,

Federico da Lavagna, is not extant. What survives is not a provision as such but a confirmation of a provision which Innocent IV included in a mandate to two designated executors ("provisors") of the provision, the then-Archdeacon of Canterbury (Stephen de Montival) and the papal scriptor, Master Innocenzo, an Italian then resident in Yorkshire: "archidiacono Cantuariensi et magistro Innocentio scriptori nostro in Anglia commoranti."⁶⁶ What this mandate has to say is as important as the fact that it has been overlooked, for the provision it confirmed was not as straightforward as is commonly assumed. There were, it turns out, two stages in the provision of Federico to a Lincoln canonry and prebend. First of all, and at an unspecified date, Guglielmo Cardinal of Sant'Eustachio, at the mandate of Pope Innocent, had formally invested Federico with a canonry at Lincoln, and also had provided him to a prebend there if one were vacant at the time Federico presented his letters of provision, or, if there were not, then as soon as one became vacant. The investiture and the provision, Innocent informs us in his mandate, were embodied in a letter of Cardinal Guglielmo.

It was not by chance that Innocent had entrusted this Cardinal with the investiture and the provision of his nephew Federico. Guglielmo was also a nephew of Innocent's, and a Fieschi at that, as Innocent was. But Federico (about whom we know nothing except that he was a cleric and a papal scriptor, and came from Lavagna, the native place of the Fieschi on the Ligurian coast south of Genoa)⁶⁷ was not satisfied with his cousin's handling of the affair. He begged his uncle for a confirmation.

Innocent did not disappoint him. He confirmed explicitly (and this is our second stage) what Cardinal Guglielmo had done: "Nos ipsius Federici devotis precibus inclinati, quod ab eodem cardinale super hoc factum est ratum et gratum habentes, illud auctoritate apostolica duximus confirmandum"; and then he commissioned the two provisors whom he was addressing to put Federico or his procurator into corporal possession of the canonry and prebend, and to excommunicate all who opposed him.

This should have been sufficient for Federico, but apparently it was not. Innocent added a comprehensive list of "notwith-

standing" clauses and stated that the provision was to hold good "notwithstanding that the Bishop of Lincoln or the chapter may have had papal letters which exempt him or it from being compelled to accept any provision." No matter what the tenor of these or other apostolic letters, they were to have no effect whatever in the case of Federico: "... viribus omnino carere." There was no loophole. And should anyone oppose the provision he was to be summoned before the Pope himself within two months, no matter what privileges or exemptions he claimed to possess.

It was to this mandate of 26 January 1253 to the two provisors that Grosseteste's celebrated letter was directed a few weeks later. In Luard's edition of the letters of Grosseteste (1861) the reply is not addressed to the two provisors noted above but to "magistro Innocentio domino papae," a manuscript inscription which obviously was a garbled version of "magistro Innocentio domini papae scriptori."

Most authors today therefore speak of letter 128 as "the letter to Master Innocent." This in itself, however, is hardly correct. The inscription "magistro Innocentio domino papae" is not only garbled but also out of place, even in its corrected form. And this is for the simple reason that the letter printed by Luard as No. 128 (and which exists in some manuscripts with mistaken inscription) is only the second half of Grosseteste's original letter.

Luard, when editing letter 128 ("Noverit discretio vestra. . .") with the inscription "magistro Innocentio domino papae," prints in a footnote a letter from Grosseteste which, he observes, usually precedes letter 128 (or, as Harrison Thomson, repeating Luard, says, "The letter is usually preceded by a copy of the pope's letter to Master Innocent").⁶⁸ Now that letter in Luard's footnote which "usually" precedes letter 128 in manuscripts is, in fact, the first half of Grosseteste's reply to the papal mandate. It is addressed not to one but to two provisors ("Cantuariensi archidiacono et magistro Innocentio domini papae scriptori"), and contains a rehearsal of the papal mandate of 26 January 1253 to those two provisors: "Intelleximus vos litteram domini papae recepisse in haec verba: Innocentius . . . archidiacono Cantuariensi et magistro Innocentio domini papae scriptori, salutem et apostolicam

benedictionem. Cum dilectus filius noster. . . . Datum Perus. vii Kal. Feb. pontificatus nostri anno decimo.”⁶⁹ It is, indeed, to this rehearsal of Grosseteste that we owe our knowledge of the papal mandate. And if it “usually” precedes letter 128 in manuscripts, this is precisely because it was meant to.

What happened, I suspect, and misled Luard, Thomson, and others, was that as soon as it began to be copied, that part of the letter (“Noverit discretio vestra”) which followed the rehearsal of Innocent’s mandate was detached both from it and from the original inscription to the two provisors (as in the *Chronica* of Matthew Paris), and somewhere along the line (probably by the late thirteenth century), acquired the muddled inscription “magistro Innocentio domino papae” in some codices instead of the original, double inscription.

Such a conjecture is not farfetched. As it stands in Luard’s footnote the rehearsal of the papal mandate is patently incomplete. It demands a follow-up. Besides, and in spite of the assertions of Luard and Harrison Thomson, there are manuscripts (at least three of which are from the second half of the thirteenth century) where the two “letters” follow each other without the intrusive “magistro Innocentio” inscription found in some other codices.⁷⁰ If further proof were needed, then one could turn to the contemporary *Burton Annals*. These state that when Grosseteste had received the Pope’s letter from the two provisors, the archdeacon of Canterbury and Master Innocenzo, he replied to the provisors as follows:

Robertus, Dei permissione Lincolniae episcopus, Cantuariensi archidiacono et magistro Innocentio domini papae scriptori salutem et benedictionem. Intelleximus vos literam domini Papae recepisse, in haec verba: Innocentius episcopus, etc. Dilectis filiis archidiacono Cantuariensi et magistro Innocentio scriptori nostro in Anglia com-moranti, salutem, etc., et infra [= beginning of rehearsal of the mandate].

Noverit autem discretio vestra. . . [= letter 128].

The text of the papal mandate is not given at this point, but there is enough here to show that the inscription and rehearsal are those in the letter in Luard’s footnote and in the “first”

Grosseteste letter as it appears in the various manuscripts that carry it. As well, the conventional "et infra" (as distinct from "etc.") proves beyond all doubt that the rehearsal of the papal letter and letter 128 are but the first and second part of one and the same letter, for the text of the letter to the provisors, including all of the papal mandate, is to be found further on in the Annals with a reference back to the passage above and with an answering "*ut supra*" after "Noverit discretio vestra quod mandatis apostolicis affectione filiali omnino devote et reverenter obedio. His quoque quae mandatis apostolicis, etc., *ut supra*."⁷¹

What does this "restored" letter of Grosseteste (see *Appendix*) contribute towards an understanding of his reaction to the papal provision by executory mandate? From the fact that Grosseteste's letter is addressed to the two provisors and not to Pope Innocent himself, it now seems clear that Grosseteste had not had any direct communication from the Pope about the provision but only a letter from one or both of the provisors in which a copy of the Pope's mandate was included. This, I feel sure, is what is implied by the opening phrase of Grosseteste's letter to the provisors ("Intelleximus vos litteram domini papae recepisse in haec verba") and by his rehearsal of the papal mandate immediately afterwards. The Annals of Burton certainly confirm this point, stating that Grosseteste replied to the provisors after he had received the executory letters which they had had on their appointment as provisors:

Eodem anno cum dati essent provisores auctoritate Apostolica dominus et magister Cantuariensis archidiaconus, et quidam Romanus nomine Innocentius, ad providendum cuidam Romano puero parvulo de prima [praebenda] vacante in cathedrali Lincolniae, acceptis eorundem literis in eodem negotio executoriis, dominus et magister Robertus, eiusdem loci episcopus, eisdem in haec verba rescripsit. . . .⁷²

It was, then, from a copy of the papal mandate to these provisors that Grosseteste learned for the first time that the Pope's nephew Federico da Lavagna not only had been provided to a canonry at Lincoln but also had been, as Pope Innocent put it to the provisors, "invested bodily, personally, and by ring as a canon

of Lincoln with full legal rights by Cardinal Guglielmo." He would have learned further, and again for the first time, that the same Cardinal had also, at the Pope's behest, provided Federico to a prebend in the same church.

It goes without saying that this high-handed approach to the pastoral care must have irked Grosseteste. As he had told the legate Otto in 1237, when he rejected his clerk Atto, no one should confer a benefice without first consulting its patron. Because of this rebuke, Otto had made his next provision in a request form, *in forma deprecatoria*.⁷³ This was the proper procedure. The standard teaching on provisions was that there first should be a letter of request (*litterae rogatorie*) from the provider to the patron, then a letter of admonition (*monitoriae*), followed by an order to provide (*praeceptoriae*), and, finally, if the patron refused to budge, by executory letters (*executoriae*) to one or two trustworthy outsiders (provisors) who would compel the patron to provide. In the words of the contemporary *Glossa ordinaria* on the Decretals (X. 1. 3, 37, v. *De monitoriis*): "ordo et consuetudo curiae est quod primo [i.e., after the initial *litterae rogatorie*] *monitoriae*, secundo *praeceptoriae*, ultimo *executoriae* conceduntur."

Barraclough has noted that it was precisely in the pontificate of Innocent IV that the practice began of "granting all categories" of letters simultaneously, that is, of providing someone to a benefice by sending out executory letters to the provisors at the same time as the letters of provision to the bishop or patron.⁷⁴ All the same, Innocent himself in his commentary on the Decretals (X. 3. 5, 27, v. *assignari proventus*) seems to have preferred the normal procedure. Some have asserted, Innocent says, that one can act at once on monitory letters, but this idea "does not appeal to him." Such a procedure, he goes on, would make executors redundant. Besides, the fact that the Pope sends out monitory letters does not necessarily mean that he will follow them up with executory ones.⁷⁵ In the present case, however, there is nothing to suggest that Cardinal Guglielmo had had any consultation with Grosseteste before making the original provision, nor that any kind of deprecatory, admonitory, or peremptory letters were

sent to Lincoln when the executory letters were dispatched to the two provisors. This was a grave lapse on the part of Innocent and his chancery. Given Grosseteste's notorious views on presentation, it was a very silly one.

What really moved Grosseteste to anger, however, was the series of "notwithstanding" clauses. Most of the writers who have discussed this letter of Grosseteste give the impression that he rebelled against the papal provision as such. To be accurate (and it may be noted that Pantin, Powicke, and others omit the operative words in their translations and summaries), what Grosseteste rebelled against was "the things contained in this letter": "his quae in praedicta littera continentur . . . filialiter et obedienter non obedio, contradico et rebello."

From this point of view it is of importance that the "heaped up *Non obstante* clauses" form the first of the two reasons that Grosseteste gives as proof that the "tenor of the letter" was not consonant with the holiness inherent in the Apostolic See: "Non est igitur praedictae litterae tenor apostolicae sanctitati consonus sed absonus plurimum et discors, primo, quia de illius litterae . . . supercumulato *Non obstante* . . . scatet cataclysmus. . . ." For these *Non obstante* clauses only beget a "cataclysmus inconstantiae, audaciae, et procacitatis etiam inverecundae mentiendi et fallendi, diffidentiae cuiquam credendi vel fidem adhibendi."

This was not a new position. In 1250, and in almost exactly the same words, Grosseteste had made the same point in his tough memorandum to Innocent and his cardinals at Lyons with respect to the curia's use of *Non obstante* clauses: "Huius quoque curiae, verbi huius non obstante frequentia, mundum replevit inconstantia, mentiendi fugavit verecundiam, adhibendi fidem chartis omnem abstulit evidentiam, et non observandi fidem eisdem omnem contulit audaciam."⁷⁶ What was new was that Grosseteste now found himself to be a victim of those same "shifty, shameless, and soul-destroying" practices of which he had accused the curia some three years before, for in 1239 he had been granted a special privilege by Pope Gregory IX that he would

not be bound to respect any papal provision unless the letter made "full mention" of that privilege:

Exigentibus devotionis tuae meritis ut a nobis specialem gratiam consequaris, fraternitati tuae praesentium auctoritate concedimus ut in Lincolniensi ecclesia de mandato nostro plurimum sicut dicitur provisione gravata, non tenearis alicui per nostras litteras providere nisi de concessione huiusmodi plenam fecerint mentionem.⁷⁷

Now in a papal mandate of 1253 which bristled with *Non obstante* clauses and was not even addressed to him but to provisors, this privilege of 1239 was not only not mentioned explicitly but ignored as though it had never been granted.

This, in my opinion, was the root of Grosseteste's rebellion. And without giving credence to everything that Matthew Paris relates of Grosseteste's last days, it is surely significant that in one of his last discourses, as reported by Matthew, Grosseteste precisely accuses the Pope of "shamelessly annulling" the privileges of his predecessors by *Non obstante* clauses: "Privilegia sanctorum pontificum Romanorum praedecessorum suorum Papa impudenter annullare per hoc repagulum *Non obstante*, non erubescit."⁷⁸

If, as I have suggested, the *Non obstante* clauses in the papal mandate of 1253 were the immediate cause of Grosseteste's refusal to accept it, this was not so much because these clauses "annulled" a privilege which he had had from Gregory IX as because they represented in this particular case, and perhaps in general, a grievously sinful abuse of power. This seems clear from Grosseteste's second reason why the "tenor" or "content" of the papal letter was not consonant with the innate holiness of the Apostolic See of which he had spoken at length in the preceding paragraphs: "After the sin of Lucifer," he wrote, "there is not, nor can there be, a type of sin so contrary to the teaching of the Gospel and of the apostles, so detestable to the Lord Jesus Christ, and so pernicious to the human race, as to maim and kill souls whom the office and the ministry of the pastoral care should enliven, by cheating that pastoral office and ministry."

"Pastoralis officii et ministerii defraudatione": coupled with

Grosseteste's accusation that the heap of *Non obstante* clauses gave rise to deceit, treachery, and breach of faith, the sin here that is second only to Lucifer's cannot simply be that of "depriving" souls of due pastoral care, as Mr. Pantin and others render the word "defraudatione." It must mean something more than that. If the sin were simply a question of "depriving" the pastoral care of competent ministers, then Grosseteste would surely have said something, as he had said on so many other similar occasions, about the fact that Federico was a foreigner and therefore unsuitable, or that he was illiterate and therefore a menace. But he does not. Federico is not even mentioned. What Grosseteste attacked was not the young, unseen Italian who had been provided but "what is contained in this letter." For once it was not a deprivation of the pastoral care as such that he was worried about. It was a *defraudatio* that was present in the very mandate itself.

When he rebelled against and obediently refused to obey "the things contained in this letter," it was, he said, "particularly because they clearly verge on the aforementioned sin." For "the things contained in this letter" cheated, defrauded, his own pastoral care and ministry. They came from a system that countenanced deceit, a system that could grant a privilege on the one hand and ignore it on the other. The present letter of provision was a perfect example of what he had had in mind at Lyons, for with its *Non obstante* clauses that unblushingly set aside a papal privilege it was audacious and shameless, and destroyed all credibility. And it was sinful because it cheated and played fast and loose with the ministry of the cure of souls which had been committed to him. A pernicious sin at any time, double-dealing was abominably so when perpetrated by the Apostolic See, which by definition was supremely holy: "Haec autem quas vocant provisiones non sunt in aedificationem sed in manifestam destructionem. Non igitur eas potest beata sedes apostolica."

Grosseteste was an old man now, with his eightieth birthday well behind him. He had trusted the positive law and the curia when, in the interests of the *cura animarum* and because Lincoln was "plurium provisione gravata," he had sought for and obtained his privilege in 1239. Now in 1253, and on the verge of

the grave after eighteen years of dedicated service, he felt deceived, betrayed, disillusioned. The curia had failed to keep its faith. And because he considered himself entitled to invoke the privilege the curia had ignored, he rejected the mandate and all that it contained out of hand. That privilege had been invoked successfully on a lesser occasion in 1241. Admittedly that was while Gregory was still alive,⁷⁹ but the privilege had not been revoked since, and there was no reason, or so it may have seemed to him, why it should not have been respected.

Yet Grosseteste made no mention of this privilege in his letter to the provisors, nor, for that matter, did he mention at least two other related privileges which he had had from Innocent himself.⁸⁰ Instead, he wrapped his refusal up in the circular, evangelical prose that is characteristic of his pastoral letters. Predictably, absolutely true to form, Grosseteste now lectured the two provisors (and through them the Pope and the curia) as he had lectured anyone who had crossed his path during his eighteen years as bishop, and as he had lectured the Pope and his cardinals at Lyons three years before. A schoolmaster for most of the sixty-seven years before he became bishop, he remained a schoolmaster, chiding and more than a little brusque, to the day of his death.

But the tone is shrill now, the reasoning strained. There is an incomprehension that borders on panic. He has been hurt to the quick, and by, of all people, his "Father and Mother," the Pope and the papacy. The privilege may never be mentioned, but it is none the less present for that. It is not for nothing that as he lay dying at Buckden in the early days of the following October, he is reported to have said of Innocent IV, "*Privilegia sanctorum pontificum successorum suorum papa impudenter annullare per hoc repagulum Non obstante non erubescit. . . . Quis eius privilegia custodebit?*"⁸¹ The wound was still open.

Seven or eight months after this tortured letter—which, the Burton Annals say, the two provisors "sent on at once under their own seals to Pope Innocent and his cardinals"—Robert Grosseteste died at his manor at Buckden, Huntingdonshire, on 9

October 1253. Some three weeks later Innocent IV sent to the prelates of Christendom a remarkable letter, *Postquam regimini*, with which Grosseteste's letter of refusal may have more to do than hitherto has been suspected.

In this encyclical letter, described by Innocent himself as "proprio motu" or totally unsolicited, the Pope ruled that from now on all prelates, chapters, convents, and patrons in general could themselves confer on persons of their own choice any prebends, benefices, and incomes which might be granted by the papacy or others in the service of the papacy to foreigners ("oriundis extra regna in quibus habentur canonicatus et praebeneficiae"), although those who were in possession of such benefices at present were not to be disturbed.

Scholars in general have not paid much attention to this lengthy letter or "statute," as Innocent himself terms it.⁸² Grosseteste scholars who have adverted to it at all have been content to describe it with Matthew Paris as a "mitigation" of previous practice.⁸³ Of course it was much more. As A. L. Smith rightly noted over sixty years ago, though he did not pursue the matter further, it was "a complete restoration of the old rights of patronage to their old owners."⁸⁴

What, to my knowledge, no one has remarked upon is the frank, uncurial language of the letter. It was, indeed, "proprio motu." For one thing, Innocent bluntly states that from now on prelates are to "tear up" any papal or legatine letters that go against this new statute on the provision of foreigners: ". . . licitumque sit vobis universis et singulis, tamquam nostris in hac parte ministris, nostras sive legatorum nostrorum lacerare litteras, si quae statuto ipsi contrariae vobis aut alicui vestrum fuerint praesentatae." For another thing, and this is still more astonishing, Innocent admits in his opening remarks that there have been mistakes made in the past in the system of provisions to foreigners, whether because of dishonest petitioners, or because of prevailing roguery all round, or, worse still, because he himself had been forced on occasion, and against his better judgment, to grant certain provisions:

Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care

Postquam regimini generalis ecclesiae nos licet immeritos divina pietas voluit praesidere, cordi semper habuimus quod honestatem et ordinem in omnibus servaremus, ac in provisionibus faciendis haberemus illius providentiae modum per quem ecclesiis et monasteriis sive aliis piis locis honor et commodum proveniret. Quod autem quandoque contrarium accidisse dinoscitur, tum propter malitiam temporum, tum propter improbitatem nimiam petitorum, saepe nobis dolorem intulit et cordi nostro suspiria cumulavit, maxime cum post multa diffugia et excogitatae resistentiae studium, provisiones quasdam prorsus inviti fecerimus quas potuisse vitare pro magno et sollempni gaudio duceremus.

A papal letter that allows that there have been mistakes in policy or in practice is a rare event, but for a pope to admit to having had his arm twisted on occasion is quite unusual, if not a landmark in the history of the papacy: "maxime cum . . . provisiones quasdam prorsus inviti fecerimus quas potuisse vitare pro magno et sollempni gaudio duceremus." Yet these opening statements of *Postquam regimini*, not to speak of the dramatic order "to tear up" contrary papal letters, have not attracted any attention. Even the usually perceptive Powicke misses the point when he writes that this letter of 3 November 1253 "expounded a mitigation, which had caused him anxious thought, of a deplorable state of affairs. Owing to the evil of the age and the unscrupulous avidity of petitioners, the system of provisions had not had the healthy and salutary effect which he had hoped for."⁸⁵

It is surprising, moreover, that Powicke, Pantin, and others make no connection whatever between Grosseteste's letter to the provisors and *Postquam regimini*. Of course, as Powicke rightly notes, *Postquam regimini* was "addressed to the whole Church," but it is at least curious that this encyclical letter seems to survive, outside of the register of Innocent's letters in the Vatican Archives, only in copies made by the contemporary English chroniclers Matthew Paris and the Burton annalist. What is more, and unlike Matthew Paris upon whom Powicke relied in this matter, the Burton annalist states quite explicitly that the letter of Grosseteste was the occasion of *Postquam regimini*: "At

that time," the annalist notes just before the text of *Postquam regimini*, "as soon as the aforesaid letter of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln had been received, read, and understood, the Pope sent thirty copies or more of the following letter over his bull to the archbishops, bishops, and some abbots in England."⁸⁶

It would be too much to claim that the letter of Robert Grosseteste was the sole cause of *Postquam regimini*, for other complaints about papal provisions had been made during Innocent's pontificate, notably those from England at the first council of Lyons in 1245, and the "Gravamina ecclesiae Gallicanae" (the so-called "Protestation of St. Louis") in 1247.⁸⁷ All the same, given the long lapse of time between those complaints and the papal letter of 1253, the statement of the Burton Annals that *Postquam regimini* was in answer to Grosseteste's letter cannot be discounted. The display of papal candor in the exordium of the letter, with its straight acknowledgment of occasional dishonesty in the system of provisions, could be taken as an admission that Grosseteste was right when he said that the presence of layer upon layer of *Non obstante* clauses "in the present letter, as in so many others all over the place, only leads to a cataclysm of inconstancy, shameless lying, and deceit, and to begetting a diffidence in believing or trusting anyone." The point would not have been lost on Innocent, to whom a copy of the memorandum of 1250, with its stark accusation of curial abuse of these clauses, had been handed personally by Grosseteste before the memorandum was read out in the presence of the Pope and cardinals. The order at the end of *Postquam regimini* to tear up any future papal or legatine letters which contradicted what the Pope now had to say could be seen as a condoning of Grosseteste's action in refusing a provision which did not respect but rather ran counter to a previous papal privilege. And what of Innocent's confession that he had sometimes "and after tenacious resistance, granted provisions against my will which gladly I would have avoided if I could"? May it not be that in Grosseteste's case Innocent had been browbeaten into an injudicious and offensive mandate to provisors by his nephews Cardinal Guglielmo Fieschi and Federico da Lavagna, especially in the light of the latter's known in-

sistence on a papal confirmation of the original and rather innocuous provision?

What seems clear from *Postquam regimini* is that Innocent was not always in complete control of documents issued from his chancery, and that there had been, as he was sure there would be again in the future, unfortunate mistakes. Perhaps he was not even aware of the full tenor of the Lincoln provision when he sanctioned its confirmation or of the tactless range of the *Non obstante* clauses that went out in the mandate to the provisors. The pained rebuke from Grosseteste must have pulled Innocent up short. A striking account in Matthew Paris, repeated by Powicke and others, has the Pape raging at Grosseteste's letter and asking in his anger, "Who is this old man, as deaf as he is absurd [surdus, et absurdus], who dares so rashly to judge my acts"? He calmed down, Matthew relates, only when Cardinal Gil de Torres, Archbishop of Toledo, and others reminded him how zealous, holy, and learned a bishop Grosseteste was, and then suggested to him that the best thing to do was to ignore it all, lest there be a public outcry.⁸⁸

Anger or not, there hardly was any need to remind Innocent who Grosseteste was. He was only too aware of Grosseteste's crusty integrity and of his unwillingness to be pushed around by anyone where the *cura animarum* or anything else was concerned. He had heard him out patiently at Lyons in 1250 when Grosseteste presented a most militant if rambling memorandum to the papal curia and had stated *tout court* that "the prime and original cause of all the evil in the Church" was "the papal curia itself." Had Innocent taken this or the subsequent crude response to the cardinals' objections very badly,⁸⁹ he would have sent the old, unpolished Bishop packing back to England at once. He did not. Grosseteste, indeed, remained at Lyons for another six months until his business there was complete.

If there was any anger when Grosseteste's letter to the provisors reached Innocent, it probably was directed not so much at Grosseteste as at the ineptitude of a chancery which had allowed such executory letters to be sent out, and at the expense of such a bishop. It was an anger which had cooled down, perhaps, by the

following November to give way to the resigned but tight-lipped language of *Postquam regimini*.

It must, indeed, have been quite a shock to Innocent in the spring of 1253 to find that the letter confirming his nephew to a Lincoln benefice had overlooked Grosseteste's papal privilege so crassly and caused Grosseteste, who, as Pantin has put it, "was probably the most fervent and thoroughgoing papalist among medieval English writers,"⁹⁰ to denounce both the letter and the system that had spawned it.

We do not know whether any letters were exchanged between the Bishop and the Pope in the interval between Grosseteste's reply to the provisors and his death, but we do know that Innocent sent what amounts to an apologetic letter to the archbishops and bishops of England on 25 May 1253 in which he averred that he had ceased for years to provide benefices in England and did not wish to insist on keeping to the agreed sum of 8,000 marks a year in provisions. All that he asked was that the prelates should carry out his provisions in such a way that there would be no complaints.⁹¹

Postquam regimini, six months later, went further. With its clean sweep of many grievances at the provision of foreigners, its frank admissions, and its complete lack of recrimination, it is as eloquent a testimony, short of a personal letter of apology, as one could wish for, both to the effect of Grosseteste's letter and to the respect which Innocent came to have for him.

Grosseteste, of course, had been dead for some three weeks by the time *Postquam regimini* and its thirty or more copies were expedited to England. Matthew Paris, inventive as ever when it came to discussing Innocent, Italians, or friars, would have it that Innocent was overjoyed when he heard of Grosseteste's death, and in fact ordered Henry III to throw the remains of Grosseteste out of the church at Lincoln so that it might be proclaimed far and wide that Grosseteste was a recalcitrant pagan. The chronicler from St. Albans then goes on to relate that Grosseteste appeared to Innocent the night following and dug him in the ribs with his pastoral staff saying, "Sinibaldo, you miserable Pope, what do you think you are up to? The Lord

does not suffer you any more to have power over me. I wrote to you in a spirit of love and humility so that you might correct your errors, but you, with your proud eye and your encumbered heart, spurned my words." With that he disappeared, quoting Isaias: "Woe to you that despise; your own moment will come." When, Matthew continues, the papal attendants, hearing a cry from Innocent, rushed in to his chamber, they found the Pope holding his side, trembling, and sweating. From that night onwards, Matthew assures us, Innocent was beset by sleepless nights, and when he died a year later it probably was from pleurisy that had set in after the blow from the pastoral staff.⁹²

As a story, it does catch some of the implacable quality of Grosseteste, whom Matthew knew well. But it is highly unlikely. And since Matthew had gone to the trouble of including *Postquam regimini* in his "Additamenta," he could at least have acknowledged that far from spurning Grosseteste's words, Innocent had made a brave attempt to make amends to a formidable pastoral bishop.⁹³

Appendix

Letter 128 Restored

[This is not a critical edition of letter 128, but simply a working copy established from the text printed in Luard's note at pp. 432-433 of *Epp.* ("Robertus . . . Intelleximus vos . . . anno decimo.") and from his text of "Noverit" at pp. 432-437, with some small emendations from MS Bodley 42, fol. 283^{r-v} (late thirteenth century).]

Robertus, dei permissione Lincolniae episcopus, Cantuariensi archidiacono et magistro Innocentio domini papae scriptori, salutem et benedictionem. Intelleximus vos litteram domini papae recepisse in haec verba:

Dilectis filiis archidiacono Cantuariensi et magistro Innocentio scriptori nostro in Anglia commoranti, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum dilectus filius noster Guillelmus sancti Eustachii diaconus cardinalis dilecto filio Frederico de Lavania clerico, nepoti nostro, de speciali mandato nostro canonicatum Lincolniae cum plenitudine iuris canonice duxerit conferendum, ipsum per suum anulum corporaliter et praesentialiter investiens de eodem ut extunc canonicus Lincolniae existat et plenum nomen et ius canonici consequatur ibidem, ac praebendam, si qua vacaverit in ecclesia Lincolniae a tempore quo dudum litterae nostrae super receptione ac provisione facienda sibi in eadem ecclesia de praemissis venerabili fratri nostro episcopo Lincolniensi praesentatae fuerint, alioquin post vacaturam conferendam sibi donationi apostolicae reservaverit, decernendo irritum et inane si quid de praebenda huiusmodi a quoquam fuerit attentatum, necnon et in contradictores et rebelles excommunicationis sententiam nihilominus promulgando, prout in litteris eiusdem cardinalis exinde confectis plenius continetur: nos, ipsius Frederici devotis precibus inclinati, quod ab eodem cardinale super hoc factum est ratum et gratum habentes, illud auctoritate apostolica duximus confirmandum. Quocirca discretioni vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus eundem Fredericum vel procuratorem suum eius nomine in corporalem possessionem praedictorum canonicatus et praebendae auctoritate nostra inducatis et defendatis inductum, contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita com-

pescendo, non obstantibus aliquibus consuetudinibus vel statutis iuramentis vel confirmationibus sedis apostolicae seu quacunque alia firmitate roboratis, vel quod dictus Fredericus praesens non fuerit ad praestandum iuramentum de observandis consuetudinibus eiusdem ecclesiae consuetum, sive si episcopo praefato vel capitulo ipsius ecclesiae communiter vel singulatim seu aliis quibuscunque personis a dicta sede indultum existat quod ad receptionem vel provisionem alicuius compelli nequeant sive quod quivis alius in eorum ecclesia nemini providere valeat, vel quod interdicti suspendi aut excommunicari non possit per litteras apostolicas sub quacunque forma verborum obtentas vel etiam obtinendas, etiam si totus tenor indulgentiarum huiusmodi de verbo ad verbum in iisdem litteris sit insertus, sive quibuslibet aliis indulgentiis quibuscunque personis dignitati vel loco sub quacunque forma verborum concessis a sede apostolica vel etiam concedendis per quas effectus huiusmodi provisionis posset impediri aliquatenus vel differri, cum volumus eas de certa scientia quantum ad provisionem factam et faciendam Frederico praedicto in ecclesia Lincolnensi viribus omino carere. Caeterum si aliqui praedicto Frederico vel procuratori suo super praemissis vel aliquo praemissorum aliquatenus duxerint opponendum, illos ex parte nostra citari curetis peremptorie ut infra duorum mensium spatium post citationem vestram personaliter compareant coram nobis, eidem Frederico super praemissis legitime responsuri, non obstantibus privilegiis sive quibuslibet indulgentiis personis regni Angliae generaliter vel cuivis alii personae dignitati vel loco specialiter a praedicta sede sub quacunque forma verborum concessis quod non possint ultra mare seu extra civitatem vel diocesim suum in iudicium evocari per litteras apostolicas sub quacunque forma verborum obtentas, quae privilegium et indulgentiae eisdem personis de certa scientia nullatenus volumus suffragari, et constitutione edita de duabus dietis in concilio generali non obstante. Diem autem citationis et formam nobis, vestris litteris tenorem praesentium continentibus, fideliter intimetis. Quod si non ambo his exequendis interesse poteritis alter vestrum nihilominus exequatur. Datum Perusiis vii kal. februarii pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

Noverit autem discretio vestra quod mandatis apostolicis affectione filiali omnino devote et reverenter obedio, his quoque quae

mandatis apostolicis adversantur parentelam zelans honorem adversor et obsto: ad utrumque enim similiter et aequaliter teneor ex divino mandato. Apostolica enim mandata non sunt nec possunt esse alia quam apostolorum doctrinae et ipsius domini nostri Iesu Christi, apostolorum magistri et domini, cuius typum et personam maxime gerit in ecclesiastica hierarchia dominus papa, consona et conformia. Ait enim ipse dominus noster Iesus Christus, *Qui non est mecum, contra me est*. Contra ipsum autem nec est nec esse potest apostolicae sedis sanctitas divinissima. Non est igitur praedictae litterae tenor apostolicae sanctitati consonus sed absonus plurimum et discors, primo, quia de illius litterae et aliarum ei consilium longe lateque dispersarum superaccumulato *Non obstante* non ex legis naturalis observandae necessitate inducto, scatet cataclysmus inconstantiae audaciae et procacitatis etiam inverecundae mentiendi et fallendi, diffidentiae cuiquam credendi vel fidem adhibendi, et ex his consequentium vitiorum quorum non est numerus christianae religionis puritatem et socialis conversationis hominum tranquillitatem commovens et perturbans. Praeterea, post peccatum Luciferi (quod idem erit in fine temporum ipsius filii perditionis Antichristi *quem interficiet dominus Iesus spiritu oris sui*) non est nec esse potest alterum genus peccati tam adversum et contrarium apostolorum doctrinae et evangelicae et ipsi domino Iesu Christo tam odibile detestabile et abominabile et humano generi tam pernecabile quam animas curae pastoralis officio et ministerio vivificandas et salvandas pastoralis officii et ministerii defraudatione mortificare et perdere. Quod peccatum evidentissimis scripturae sacrae testimoniis committere dinoscuntur qui in potestate curae pastoralis constituti de lacte et lana ovium Christi suis carnalibus et temporalibus desideriis et necessitatibus prospiciunt et pastoralis officii ministeria in aeternam Christi ovium salutem operandam debita non administrant; ipsa enim ministeriorum pastoralium non administratio est, scripturae testimonio, ovium occisio et perditio. Quod autem haec duo genera peccatorum, licet dispariter, sint pessima et omne alterum genus peccati inaestimabiliter superexcedentia, manifestum est ex hoc quod ipsa sunt duobus existentibus et dictis, licet dispariter et dissimiliter, optimis directe contraria. Pessimum enim est quod optimo est contrarium. Quantum autem est in dictis peccantibus unum peccaminum est ipsius deitatis superessentialiter et supernaturaliter optima vilipensio, alterum vero deiformitatis et deificationis ex divini radii

gratifica participatione essentialiter et naturaliter optimae interemptio. Et quia sicut in bonis causa boni melior est suo causato, sic et in malis causa mali peior est suo causato, manifestissimum est quantum talium pessimorum interemptorum deformitatis et deificationis in ovibus Christi in ecclesiam dei introductores ipsis pessimis interemptoribus sunt peiores et Lucifero et Antichristo proximiores; et in hac peioritate gradatim magis superexcellentes qui ex maiore et diviniore sibi divinitus potestate, in edificationem et non in destructionem tradita, magis tenentur ab ecclesia dei tales interemptores pessimos excludere et extirpare.

Non potest igitur sanctissima sedes apostolica cui a sancto sanctorum domino Iesu Christo tradita est omnimoda potestas, testante apostolo, *in aedificationem et non in destructionem*, aliquid vergens in huiusmodi peccatum domino Iesu Christo tam odibile, detestabile, abominabile et humano generi summe perneabile vel mandare vel praecipere vel quoquo modo ad aliquid tale conari. Hoc enim esset evidenter suae sanctissimae potestatis et plenissimae vel defectio vel corruptio vel abusus et a throno gloriae Iesu Christi summa elongatio et in cathedra pestilentiae poenarum gehennalium duobus praedictis tenebrarum principibus proxima coassessio. Nec potest quis immaculata et sincera obedientia eidem sedi subditus et fidelis et a corpore Christi et eadem sancta sede per schisma non abscisus, huiusmodi mandatis vel praeceptis vel quibuscunque aliis conaminibus undecunque emanantibus, etiam si a supremo angelorum ordine eveniret, obtemperare, sed necesse habet totis viribus totum contradicere et rebellare.

Propter hoc, reverendi domini, ego ex debito obedientiae et fidelitatis quo teneor ut utrique parenti apostolicae sanctissimae sedi, et ex amore unionis in corpore Christi cum ea, his quae in praedicta littera continentur—et maxime quia in praetactum peccatum domino nostro Iesu Christo abominabilissimum et humano generi perniciosissimum evidentissime vergunt et apostolicae sedis sanctitati omnino adversantur et contrariantur catholicae unitati—fideliter et obedienter non obedio, contradico et rebello. Nec ob hoc potest inde vestra discretio quicquam durum contra me statuere, quia omnis mea in hac parte et dictio et actio nec contradictio est nec rebellio sed filialis divino mandato debita patri et matri honoratio. Breviter autem recolligens dico quod apostolicae sedis sanctitas non potest nisi quae in aedificationem sunt et non in destructionem. Haec enim

est potestatis plenitudo omnia posse in aedificationem. Hae autem quas vocant provisiones non sunt in aedificationem sed in manifestissimam destructionem. Non igitur eas potest beata sedes apostolica. Etenim *caro et sanguis* quae regnum dei non possidebunt *eas revelavit* et non *Pater* domini nostri Iesu Christi *qui in caelis est*.

Notes

1. On Grosseteste in general, see F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste: Bishop of Lincoln* (London, 1899); *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*, ed. D. A. Callus (Oxford, 1955) (henceforth Callus, *Grosseteste*); A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, II (Oxford, 1958), 830-833. Grosseteste's letters, the main source of this paper, are edited in *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolnensis Epistolae*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series, London, 1861) (henceforth *Epp.*). For a spurious letter in that collection (no. 130), see F. A. C. Mantello, "Letter CXXX of Bishop Robert Grosseteste: A Problem of Attribution," *Mediaeval Studies*, 36 (1974), 144-159.

2. D. A. Callus, "The Oxford Career of Robert Grosseteste," *Oxoniensia*, 10 (1945), 42-72. A newly discovered poem by a Brother Hubert, possibly one of the friars in the service of Grosseteste, is disappointing in its information on his early life; see R. W. Hunt, "Verses on the Life of Robert Grosseteste," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 1 (1970), 241-251.

3. F. M. Powicke, "Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln," *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, 35 (1953), 486-487.

4. Canon 3 in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, etc. (Basle-Barcelona, 1962), p. 188; and in the Decretals of Gregory IX (henceforth X), 1. 6, 7.

5. *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, Pt. 1 of Vol. II, *A.D. 1205-1313*, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), p. 112 (c. 19) (henceforth Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*).

6. D. A. Callus, "Robert Grosseteste as Scholar," in Callus, *Grosseteste*, pp. 10-11.

7. *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles episcopi Lincolnensis*, Canterbury and York Society, ed. W. P. W. Phillimore and F. N. Davis, II (London, 1907), 32, 235, 280-301, 308-321 (as archdeacon); *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste episcopi Lincolnensis*, Lincoln Record Society, ed. F. N. Davis (Lincoln, 1914), pp. 390-391 (as rector of St. Margaret; and see n. 12 below).

8. The date of resignation is usually given as 1232, but the year 1231 is more likely. The letter to Juetta (*Epp.* 8, pp. 43-44) is after the feast of All Saints in an unspecified year and after his illness and resignation; that to Adam Marsh (*Epp.* 9, pp. 45-47) is also after these events and after Grosseteste had had a reply from Juetta (hence his reference in the Marsh letter to the reaction of his family). Since there is no record of any act of Grosseteste as archdeacon after mid-1231, the feast of All Saints in question is probably that of 1 November 1231.

9. Swayed, he says, by the opinion of people who held that it was lawful to hold at one and the same time a parish church and a prebend with a cure of souls, "nos . . . tenuimus aliquandiu simul huiusmodi praebendam et parochialem ecclesiam" (*Epp.* 74, p. 242). Presumably the "prebend with a cure of souls" is that of St. Margaret, Leicester, since he makes a clear distinction between that and his "parochial church" (Abbotsley).

10. *Epp.* 8, pp. 43-44.

11. *Epp.* 9, pp. 45-47.

12. Had Grosseteste retained the rectorship of St. Margaret, and therefore a *cura animarum*, his critics would hardly have had a case. Master John of Basingstoke was rector of St. Margaret by 1 April 1236, when Grosseteste, now bishop, gave an *inspeximus* of an agreement which he himself had negotiated while rector. There is nothing, however, to suggest just when that was, since the *inspeximus* refers to Grosseteste vaguely as "quondam rector" (*Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, pp. 390-391).

13. *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, Vol. III

of the Lincoln Record Society, ed. C. W. Foster (Lincoln, 1935), 235-236 (12 November 1232).

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, ed. C. W. Foster (Lincoln, 1933), 70, 72.

15. Powicke, *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, 35 (1953), 498, repeated in his introduction to Callus, *Grosseteste*, pp. xviii-xix.

16. *Epp.* 40, pp. 131-133. Jordan's Oxford sermon is edited in A. G. Little and D. L. Douie, "Three Sermons of Friar Jordan of Saxony, the Successor of St. Dominic, Preached in England, A.D. 1229," *English Historical Review*, 54 (1939), 1-13.

17. J. H. Srawley, "Grosseteste's Administration of the Diocese of Lincoln," in Callus, *Grosseteste*, pp. 146-177; W. A. Pantin, "Grosseteste's Relations with the Papacy and the Crown," *ibid.*, pp. 178-215.

18. *Epp.* 22, pp. 72-76; see also *Epp.* 50, pp. 146-147 and 107, pp. 317-318, both also edited in Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, Pt. 1 of Vol. II, pp. 263-264, 479-480.

19. See the "Propositum" at Lyons in 1250 in S. Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia, Lyons 1250. Edition of the Documents," *Collectanea Franciscana*, 41 (1971), 375-377, and in Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, Pt. 1 of Vol. II, p. 264 (first half only of "Propositum" as edited by Gieben).

20. See M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272* (Oxford, 1934); C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1968), and the many synodal statutes edited in Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*.

21. For these English and Continental manuals in general, see P. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge* (Louvain, 1962); L. E. Boyle, "The *Summa confessorum* of John of Freiburg," *St. Thomas Aquinas Commemorative Studies* (Toronto, 1974), II, 245-268.

22. S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 121-147. See also S. Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste on Preaching, with the Edition of the Sermon 'Ex rerum initiatarum,'" *Collectanea Franciscana*, 37 (1967), 100-141; "Bibliographia universa Roberti Grosseteste," *ibid.*, 39 (1969), 362-418.

23. The *Speculum confessionis* was written for a friend, a monk perhaps: "Ecce dilectissime speculum confessionis . . . ut simpliciores fratres illud legendo . . . festinent se sanciare poenitentiae remedio" (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Laud misc. 527, fol. 262v), and it ends in another manuscript (British Library, MS Harley 5441, fol. 147v): "Explicit tractatus de confessione secundum magistrum Robertum Lincoln. episcopum in quo non solum saecularibus sed etiam religiosis et perfectis patet speculum verae confessionis."

24. See M. Deanesley, *The Lollard Bible* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 141, 442; C. F. Bühler, "A Lollard Tract: On Translating the Bible into English," *Medium Aevum*, 7 (1938), 167-183, particularly 181-182.

25. British Library, MS Royal 7 F II, fols. 78v-83v.

26. There is a critical edition of these constitutions in Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, Pt. 1 of Vol. II, pp. 265-278.

27. The date cited here for the constitutions is that of Professor Cheney in Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, Pt. 1 of Vol. II, p. 266. The *terminus ante quem* is suggested by the fact that Walter of St. Edmund, Abbot of Peterborough and a friend of Grosseteste (see *Epp.* 57, pp. 173-178), was in possession of a "Templum Domini cum arte confessionaria" before his death in 1246; see M. R. James, "Lists of Manuscripts Formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library," *Supplement to the Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, 5 (1926), 22.

28. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson A 384, fols. 98^v-106^v. To the sixty-five MSS listed by Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 138-140, the following may be added: Kues, Hospital 233; London, British Library: Arundel 507, Cotton Vespasian D. V., Egerton 665, Harley 209; Longleat House; Metz, Bibl. de la Ville, 521; Ox-

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ford, Bodl. Library: Bodley 440, Tanner 110; Balliol College 228, Magdalen College 109, St. John's College 93; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 543; Wisbech Town Library 5.

29. For some other contemporary schemata of this kind, see A. Dondaine, "La Somme de Simon de Hinton," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 9 (1937), 5-22, 205-218.

30. A common rubric of this sermon is "Quomodo examinandus est poenitens cum venerit ad confessionem," as in British Library MS 7 F II, fol. 83^v. The sermon, now edited by Siegfried Wenzel, "Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession, 'Deus est,'" *Franciscan Studies*, 30 (1970), 218-293, may possibly be the "Ars confessionaria" which Walter of St. Edmund owned (see n. 27).

31. Thomson, *Writings*, p. 126, gives the extant MSS of this tract, to which National Library of Scotland MS 18. 3. 6, fols. 132^r-134^r ("Diversitates poenitentiae secundum magistrum Robertum Grossete") may be added. It occurs in this MS (which formerly belonged to the Advocates' Library) with the *Oculus sacerdotis* of William of Pagula (ca. 1320-26). A note on the flyleaf in a late hand states mistakenly, "In hoc volumine continentur opera magistri Roberti Grossete . . . scripta in 1305, primum quod inscribitur Oculus sacerdotum, secundum Diversitates."

32. For example, the verses "Haec sunt praecipue sacerdotibus insinuenda" (Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. A 384, fol. 99^r; cf. 101^r) are to be found in the opening section of the "Qui bene praesunt" of Richard Wethersett (e.g., British Library, MS Royal 4 B VIII, fol. 222^r). The dependence on Flamborough is not explicit. It was first noted by an anonymous *Speculum iuniorum* of about 1250: "Casus in quibus committitur simonia quos ponit magister Robertus Lincoln. in Templo. Et extractae sunt de poenitentiali magistri Roberti de Flaveny qui incipit sic: Res grandis" (Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 655, fol. 20^v). The borrowings are most obvious in the sections on simony (Rawl. A 384, fol. 103^v) and matrimony (fol. 104^v). On Robert of Flamborough ("de Flaveny") see J. J. F. Firth, *Robert of Flamborough: Liber Poenitentialis* (Toronto, 1971).

33. See L. E. Boyle, "Three English Pastoral Summae and a 'Magister Galienus,'" *Studia Gratiana*, 11 (1967: *Collectanea S. Kuttner* I), 135-144.

34. *Epp.* 37, p. 128 (ca. 1237): "Ex fido relatu mores vestros et opera sapientialia referentium."

35. The *Summa de casibus* was written ca. 1224 and was revised some ten years later; see S. Kuttner, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* des hl. Raymund von Pennafort," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, kan. Abt., 83 (1953), 419-448.

36. On these translations, see D. A. Callus, "The Date of Grosseteste's Translations and Commentaries on Pseudo-Dionysius and the Nichomachean Ethics," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 14 (1947), 186-210; Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 42-71; K. Hill, "Robert Grosseteste and His Work of Greek Translation," in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. Derek Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 13 (London, 1976), 213-222.

37. *Epp.* 112, pp. 329-333 (November, 1244).

38. See *Epp.* 14, pp. 59-60; 15, p. 61; 16, pp. 62-63; 20, pp. 69-71; 31, pp. 117-118; 58, pp. 179-181; 100, pp. 304-305.

39. *Epp.* 13, pp. 57-59 (April-June, 1235, while still bishop-elect).

40. *Epp.* 51, pp. 147-151 (1237?).

41. *Epp.* 46, pp. 138-40 (1237?). On Richard, see Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, I (Oxford, 1957), 490-491.

42. *Epp.* 11, pp. 50-54 (27 March-3 June 1235).

43. *Epp.* 127, pp. 357-431. The work of E. B. King, *Robert Grosseteste and the*

Pastoral Office (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1970), shows how all the administrative acts of Grosseteste were dictated by his teaching on the pastoral care, which King finds in its basic form in this letter to the Dean and Chapter; see also *Dissertation Abstracts*, 30A (1969-70), 3384-85.

44. *Epp.* 17, pp. 63-65.

45. *Epp.* 19, pp. 68-69 (12367). On Blund, see Emden, *op. cit.*, n. 41 above, I, 206, and D. A. Callus and R. W. Hunt, *Iohannes Blund: Tractatus de Anima* (Oxford, 1970).

46. *Epp.* 72, pp. 203-204 (12397).

47. *Epp.* 18, pp. 65-67 (12357).

48. *Epp.* 49, pp. 144-148. On Cardinal Otto, see A. Paravicini-Bagliani, *Cardinali de Curia e "Familiae" Cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254* (Padua, 1972), pp. 76-97.

49. *Epp.* 52, pp. 151-154 (12387).

50. *Epp.* 74, pp. 241-243 (12417). On Atto, see Paravicini-Bagliani, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94. Another chaplain in Otto's suite, the young Ottobono Fieschi (later cardinal, legate to England, and Pope Hadrian V), was more successful. He was granted the living of Twywell by Grosseteste (*Rotuli R. Grosseteste*, p. 182; Paravicini-Bagliani, *op. cit.*, p. 359).

51. *Epp.* 27, pp. 105-108 (1236).

52. *Epp.* 72*, pp. 205-234 (1236). On Grosseteste's relations with St. Edmund, see C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford, 1960), p. 158, and n. 1.

53. *Epp.* 83, pp. 264-266 (1240); Ovid, *Remedium amoris*, 91.

54. *Epp.* 60, pp. 182-185 (1238).

55. *Epp.* 61, pp. 185-188 (1238); Horace, *Ars poetica*, 25-26.

56. *Epp.* 30, pp. 116-117 (1236).

57. *Epp.* 101, pp. 306-308 (12427).

58. *Epp.* 102, pp. 308-309 (1243).

59. *Epp.* 124, pp. 348-351 (1245).

60. *Epp.* 126, pp. 353-356 (1245). Grosseteste had examined Passelewe in theology in 1244; see M. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, IV (London, 1877), 401. On the Passelewe family, see F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 51, 52, 58, and, on the question of the clergy acting as judges, J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 150-151.

61. The best discussion of this episode is Pantin, "Grosseteste at Lyons, 1250," in Callus, *Grosseteste*, pp. 209-215. The edition of the Lyons documents in E. Brown, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* (London, 1690), is now superseded by S. Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia, Lyons 1250: Edition of the Documents," *Collectanea Franciscana*, 41 (1971), 340-393. See also "Grosseteste at the Papal Curia," in Harrison Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 141-147.

62. Gieben, *loc. cit.*, p. 355. The whole memorandum is in Gieben at pp. 350-370.

63. *Epp.* 128, pp. 432-437; *M. Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, V (London, 1880), 389-392; *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, I (London, 1864), 311-313; *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1858), pp. 382-385. For manuscripts of the letter, see Harrison Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 143, 193-194, 212-213. A copy of the letter in the Red Book of the Exchequer (Public Record Office, London, MS E. 164/2, fols. 196v-197r) escaped Thomson's list. See further n. 70 below.

64. F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947), I, 284-287, and introduction to Callus, *Grosseteste*, pp. xxii-xxiv; W. A. Pantin in Callus, *Grosseteste*, pp. 180-181, 188-195.

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65. B. Tierney, "Grosseteste and the Theory of Papal Sovereignty," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 6 (1955), 1-17, esp. 10.

66. In his edition of the Burton Annals in *Annales Monastici*, Luard identified the archdeacon as Hugh de Mortuomari and in this has been followed by many authors. In fact the archdeacon was Stephen de Montival, who held that office at Canterbury from ca. 1248 to 1269; see J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, II: Monastic Cathedrals*, ed. D. E. Greenway (London, 1971), p. 15. Master Innocenzo, the papal scriptor, was in England from at least June, 1249, and was given a prebend in York on 8 March 1252: P. Herde, *Beiträge zum päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen im 13. Jahrhundert* (Kallmünz, 1961), p. 31.

67. See Herde, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Federico does not occur as a member of any of the households of the cardinals of the period in Paravicini-Bagliani, *op. cit.*, n. 48 above, who has an interesting account of Cardinal Guglielmo (cardinal of Sant'Eustachio in Rome, 1244-56) and his "famiglia" at pp. 329-340.

68. Harrison Thomson, *Writings*, p. 212, and see p. 143 (2).

69. This letter is not to be found in the registers of Innocent's letters nor in any other collection of Innocent's correspondence, for example, G. Abate, "Lettere segrete d'Innocenzo IV e altri documenti in una raccolta inedita del sec. XIII—Regesto," *Miscellanea Franciscana*, 55 (1955), 317-373.

70. MSS: London, British Library, Vesp. A. XIII, fols. 90^r-92^v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 42, fol. 283^{r-v}, and Merton College 82, fols. 90^v-100^v, are all from the second half of the thirteenth century. Other MSS which give the full letter are Cambridge: University Library, Ii. i. 19, fols. 208^r-209^v, Corpus Christi College 156, fols. 121^r-122^r, and 385, pp. 84-87 (but with only *incipit* of mandate); London, British Library: Lansdowne 458, fols. 147^v-148^r, Royal 6 E V, fol. 128^{r-v}, 7 E II, fols. 385^r-386^v, 7 F II, fols. 108^r-110^r; Oxford, Bodleian Library: Bodley 52, fols. 137^r-138^v, 312, fol. 117^{r-v}. In some of these MSS Grosseteste's rehearsal of Innocent's letter is separated from his own continuation, "Noverit," by a space or by some rubric such as "Responsum domini Lincolniensis," creating the impression that two letters were in question. E. Brown in his *Fasciculus* of 1690 (II, 399-401; see n. 61 above) therefore printed the letter as two letters from a now-destroyed Cotton MS. Luard followed suit in 1861, basing his work on Cambridge University Library MS Ii. i. 18 (a defective MS, in fact; see the angry note in a fourteenth-century hand at fol. 208^v [col. a]: "Pro amore Ihesu, quare copiam aliam istius litterae m. Roberti Grostest doctoris sacrae theologiae, quia haec littera vitiose est scripta"), and on Bodley 312 (a copy corrected by Thomas Gascoigne about 1440 "from Grosseteste's own autographs in the library of the Franciscans at Oxford": *Epp.* p. xcvi). Harrison Thomson, following too readily in the steps of Brown and Luard, further complicated things by giving a list of MSS for "Intelleximus" at p. 143 and another for "Noverit discretio" at pp. 193-194; yet although all the "Intelleximus" MSS at p. 143 of *Writings* also carry "Noverit," five of these are not noted as such at pp. 193-194. Adding to the muddle, Thomson did not note that almost *all* the MSS of his "Noverit" also have the text of "Intelleximus." On Gascoigne and Grosseteste, see S. Gieben, "Thomas Gascoigne and Robert Grosseteste: Historical and Critical Notes," *Vivarium*, 8 (1970), 56-67.

71. *Annales Monastici*, I, 311-313, 437-438. On the character of the Burton Annals, see A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), pp. 408-410.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

73. *Epp.* 52, p. 151.

74. G. Barraclough, *Papal Provisions* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 137-138.

75. "Dicunt quidam quod conditione ex hac decretali potest quilibet pro quo

scribuntur monitoriae agere et consequi quod in hac decretali continetur, sed certe hoc non placet nobis, quia iam frustra ecclesia daret executores, et licet quandoque papa det monitorias non tamen dat executorias" (*Commentaria super libros quinque decretalium*, Frankfurt, 1570). It may be noted in Innocent's registers that he appears to have observed due form in practice. See, for example, a mandate to provisors to provide Thedisio da Lavagna (another relative, presumably), papal scriptor, because a previous letter of provision to the Archbishop of Armagh had been ignored: *Pontificia Hibernica*, ed. M. P. Sheehy, II (Dublin, 1965), 209-210, no. 386 (21 July 1254).

76. Ed. Gieben, *loc. cit.* (n. 61 above), p. 367, no. 37.

77. Vatican Archives, Reg. Vat. 19, fol. 69^v, no. 374; calendared in *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, I, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1893), 178.

78. *Chronica Majora*, V, 403. As Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 149, notes, Matthew often put words into the mouth of Grosseteste in order to air his own grievances. On the other hand, Matthew may have learned a lot about Grosseteste's last days and ramblings from the Dominican physician John of St. Giles, who attended Grosseteste in his last illness (*Chronica Majora*, V, 400).

79. In 1241 John Mansel, a clerk of the King, had obtained a papal provision, as a result of which Henry nominated him to the prebend of Thame. When it was pointed out that the papal letters were defective inasmuch as they made no mention of Grosseteste's privilege ("Sed in hujus Papalis mandati tenore, quo utitur praedictus Johannes, . . . nulla fit dicti mentio privilegii"), the King agreed to a compromise with Grosseteste, who, in fact, found another benefice for Mansel (*M. Paris, Chronica Majora*, IV, 152-153).

80. On 27 April 1245 Grosseteste was granted an indult by Innocent that he could not be compelled to bestow benefices, etc. without a special papal mandate which made full mention of this privilege:

Paci et tranquillitati tuae paterna volentes in posterum sollicitudine providere, auctoritate tibi praesentium indulgemus ut ad receptionem vel provisionem alicuius in pensionibus praebendis seu aliis ecclesiasticis beneficiis auctoritate sedis apostolicae vel legatorum ipsius minime compelli valeas absque speciali mandato sedis eiusdem faciente plenam de hac indulgentia mentionem. . . (Vatican Archives, Reg. Vat. 21, fol. 179^v, no. 841, calendared in *Papal Letters*, I, 216).

This indult, of course, was not quite as forceful as that granted by Gregory IX. On 13 June 1247 another indult was granted, this time to the effect that Grosseteste could not be summoned to a distance of more than one day's journey from his diocese, which, reputedly, was five days' journey in length, unless special mention were made of this privilege in the apostolic letters that summoned him:

. . . Tuis igitur supplicationibus inclinati, auctoritate tibi praesentium indulgemus ut ultra unam dietam extra tuam diocesim, quae in longitudine per quinque dietas durare dicitur, nequeatis per litteras apostolicas conveniri, nisi litterae ipsae plenam fecerint de hac indulgentia mentionem. . . (Vatican Archives, *ibid.*, fol. 404^v, no. 833; *Papal Letters*, I, 234).

The last part of Innocent's mandate of 1253 ignored this indult also: "non obstantibus privilegiis, . . . quod non possint ultra mare seu extra civitatem vel diocesim suam in iudicium evocari per litteras apostolicas sub quacunque forma verborum obtentas. . ."

81. M. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, V, 403.

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82. *Postquam regimini* is to be found in the Burton Annals (*Annales Monastici*, I, 314-317) and in the "Liber Additamentorum" of Matthew Paris in British Library MS Nero D. 1, fol. 118^{r-v}, from which it has been printed by Luard in his edition of the *Chronica Majora*, VI (London, 1882), 260-264. It is also printed in the Turin edition of the *Bullarium Romanum* (Turin, 1857-85), III, 217, and in the *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. G. H. Pertz and C. Rodenberg, III (Berlin, 1894), 200-202, of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. There is a copy of the encyclical in the registers of Innocent IV in the Vatican Archives, Reg. Vat. 23, fol. 30^{r-v}. The text quoted here is that of the registered copy.

83. *Chronica Majora*, VI, 260: "Literae Papales aliquantulum mitigatoriae." Matthew's text of *Postquam regimini* (here, pp. 260-264) is that addressed to his own monastery of St. Albans.

84. A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913), p. 130.

85. F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947), I, 281. However, H. K. Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, XIV (London, 1923), 262-265, notes the "tearing up" of papal letters.

86. *Annales Monastici*, I, 314. Stevenson's *Life*, p. 317, notes the Burton analyst's remark and accepts the connection.

87. See Barraclough, *Papal Provisions*, pp. 10-13; C. H. Lawrence, "The Thirteenth Century," in *The English Church and the Papacy*, ed. C. H. Lawrence (London, 1965), pp. 119-156; and texts in Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, Pt. 1 of Vol. II, pp. 392-401.

88. *Chronica Majora*, V, 393. Grosseteste had corresponded many times with Cardinal Gil de Torres; see *Epp.* 36, 45, 46, 67, pp. 125-128 (1236?), 137-138 (1237?), 138-139 (1237?), 196 (1239?). Presumably the two had met at Lyons in 1250.

89. Text in Gieben, *loc. cit.*, n. 61 above, pp. 380-385.

90. Pantin in Callus, *Grosseteste*, p. 183 (and see pp. 183-188).

91. Vatican Archives, Reg. Vat. 22, fol. 272^{r-v}, no. 696, calendared in *Papal Letters*, I, 286 (but inaccurately). Innocent's letter is a reply to a request for alleviation of provisions sent by the English bishops. He apologizes for overburdening them, saying, though not as strongly as in *Postquam regimini*, that owing to the malice of the times and the importuning of many, he has been forced, sometimes unwillingly and at other times barely willingly, to give out provisions.

92. *Chronica Majora*, V, 460, 429-431, 470.

93. It is not clear at present what impact *Postquam regimini* had in England or on the Church at large. It does not appear among the decretals in collections of Innocent's legislation as noted by P. J. Kessler, "Untersuchungen über die Novellen-Gesetzgebung Papst Innozenz' IV.," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, kan. Abt., 31 (1942), 142-320; 32 (1943), 300-383; 33 (1944), 56-128; and "Wiener Novellen. Supplementum Novellisticum," *Studia Gratiana*, 12 (1967: *Collectanea S. Kuttner II*), 91-110, nor in M. Bertram, "Aus kanonistischen Handschriften der Periods 1234 bis 1298," *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Toronto 1972* (Vatican City, 1976), pp. 27-44. Possibly *Postquam regimini* was included in an encyclical letter of Alexander IV, Innocent's successor, on 9 April 1255, revoking certain general letters of Innocent on benefices: see *Epistolae saeculi XIII a regestis Pontificum Romanorum selectae*, ed. G. M. Pertz and C. Rodenburg, III (Berlin, 1894), 351-352 (n. 392).

The Culture of the Medieval Merchant

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Judged by the number of its representatives, if not by the distinction of its products, the culture of the merchant was one of the major components of the medieval intellectual stream. Its last noteworthy detractor, Werner Sombart, was properly rebuked in two classic essays by Henri Pirenne in 1929 and by Armando Sapori in 1937.¹ In choosing it as my present subject, I have been moved not by a desire to plead for a cause that no longer needs a defender, but by the wish to pursue some of the links which may be found between Seminar 2 (entitled "The Commercial Revolution of the Central Middle Ages in Europe") and the other five seminars in this session of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Some connections are bound to be tenuous, some almost too obvious for mention. Love (Seminar 3) penetrates every door, but it would be hard to prove that there was much connection between love and trade, except for the ill-famed oldest profession. Still it can be noted that the *fin'amors* of knights for noble ladies opened itself gradually to gentle-hearted merchants and merchants' daughters in the *dolce stil nuovo*. Then, finally, a literary passport to love was granted indiscriminately to all women, virtuous or wicked, wealthy or poor, by Boccaccio, the son of a merchant and, in his early career, himself a reluctant merchant.² Again in the peculiarly belated English Renaissance (Seminar 6), there certainly are charming lines in love letters by English burghers, but merchant culture does not seem to have played an independent role. In fact, it might be interesting to compare the tendency to protracted insularity in English literature with the still more protracted insularity of English commercial tech-

niques.³ None of the contracts that dominated Mediterranean trade and spread, in a modified form, to the Hanseatic world was adopted in medieval and Renaissance England. Its merchants tended to reject all that smacked of Roman law or of foreign customs, not without some inconvenience to their organization of partnership and credit, but, if we may accept Michael Postan's spirited defense, with less serious loss of business efficiency than one might have expected.⁴

A more direct link with stylistic developments in early sixteenth-century Dutch and Flemish art (the subject of Seminar 4) might be postulated if we picked up the challenge of Heinrich Bechtel's interesting book, *Der Wirtschaftsstil des deutschen Spätmittelalters* (1930). Bechtel contended that the organization of trade went through a succession of styles not unlike those of cultural activities. However, in the half century since the appearance of the book his suggestion has never been seriously tested by economic or intellectual historians. It belongs to the exciting but slippery field of interplay between economics and culture, a field that has tempted other scholars such as Frederic Antal, Millard Meiss, Arnold Hauser, and (least, not last) myself. I shall venture a few comments on this matter at the end of my remarks here, but to remain on solid ground as long as I can I will first recall the close commercial relations between Italy and the Low Countries ever since the twelfth century, which certainly contributed to the exchange of works of art and, through them, of artistic ideas. Works of art are merchandise, and the international trader kept his eyes open to their potential. On 27 March 1387 a partner in an Italian company of merchant-bankers wrote back from Avignon to his correspondents in the home office: "You say that you do not find paintings at the price at which we want them because there is none at such a low price. And therefore we tell you this . . . [:] pass them by, since there is no great demand for them here. They are articles one ought to take when the master who makes them needs money." This is hardly proof of art appreciation! Slightly more encouraging, however, is a note that appears a few lines later in the same letter: "If they are good drawings they will sell well. Here inferior ones will not do."⁵

Superior works of art were certainly valued as highly as they deserved. Long before Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai (1403-1481) retired from business and started collecting paintings because (he said) spending money was more fun than stacking it up, the merchant was an active and discriminating art patron. Just think of Memling's stupendous *Last Judgment*, bought by the Medici bank manager in Bruges, loaded on a ship bound for Italy, where it was to adorn a church in Florence, captured by German pirates and sent to Danzig, where it remained, in spite of the protests of the Florentine government, to become the *pièce de résistance* of the local museum.⁶ One detail of the masterpiece is especially reassuring for the economic historian: the donor and his wife are realistically portrayed as standing stark naked but unafraid in the scales where the sins and virtues of all souls are weighed. No banker of the Pope, no director of a Medici agency really feared to be damned along with vulgar usurers. It is true that Flemish painters delighted in showing the wicked money-changer counting his money while a skeleton lurked behind his shoulder, ready to deliver his prey to the devil; but Italian merchants had found gimmicks to eat their cake and have it, too, and since they paid the piper, they called the tune.⁷

I have been playing so far with some marginal affinities between my theme and those of three of my learned colleagues. However, I can find closer and steadier connections with the development of writing and the pursuit of knowledge (Seminars 1 and 5, "Scripts of the Scholastic Period" and "Attitudes Toward Knowledge in French Renaissance Literature"). Both were essential ingredients of the broad if specialized training of the medieval merchant. Let me start with a few strong but, I believe, justified statements about writing. In all probability the rate of literacy among medieval traders was second only to that among the upper clergy. By the thirteenth century, literacy had become so widespread, in the Italian cities at least, that it was virtually taken for granted. At the same time in Italy, or a little later elsewhere, the volume of commercial writing far exceeded that of any other kind of writing for any other purpose.

Admittedly the first statement cannot be proved for the early

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Middle Ages, but is not nearly all we say about that period based on impressions rather than statistics? Even Pirenne, the champion of merchant culture in the later Middle Ages, contended that it could not have got underway before the tenth century or the eleventh because early medieval business transactions were too puny to require any written documents; but since the second part of the syllogism (that early medieval trade was almost insignificant) is no longer generally accepted, the first part has lost its prop. The fact remains that no commercial records are included in the very small number of documents surviving from the early medieval centuries, and when at long last they occasionally appear, they generally prove to have been written by notaries or other officials who could certify their validity. Neither does there survive any merchant correspondence like the papers of those Jewish merchants which were found accidentally in the buried garbage of an Old Cairo synagogue (though these, too, are mostly later than the tenth century). The earliest extant letters of Italian merchants are of the thirteenth century.⁸ On the other hand, Armando Petrucci has recently tabulated the subscriptions of parties and witnesses in the 180 original documents of the last fifty years of the Lombard kingdom (724-774). The documents called for either an autograph signature or a *signum manus* (a mark in the shape of the cross) of 355 ecclesiastics and 633 laymen. Whereas almost two-thirds of the ecclesiastics wrote out their names, only 14 percent of the laymen did. Most of the latter were high officials or did not specify their profession; among those who did, it gives some lukewarm comfort to find a very few *monetarii* (minters and changer-bankers), whereas a man designated as "royal physician" merely affixed his mark.⁹

For the later centuries the diffusion of documents wholly written and certified by professional scribes and notaries makes a direct test of literacy impossible, but fortunately we have better tokens of literacy spreading well beyond the ability to write one's own name. Most cogent, in my opinion, is the fact that in thirteenth-century Genoa the master woolmakers, culturally and socially one notch below the merchants, sometimes entrusted the keeping of records and accounting to their humblest and lowest-

paid assistants, servants, or apprentices. Writing was no longer a specialist's skill. Apprenticeship contracts often included the master's pledge to teach the boy under his supervision not only his profession but also, up to a point, the three *r*'s.¹⁰ Indeed, much more than this elementary knowledge was expected of merchants. Those who could afford it sent their children to a tutor who instructed them (in the words of a contract signed in 1307) "*in gramatica et in scribendo et latinando . . . secundum quod pertinet ad mercatores.*"¹¹ In the larger cities a new, typically medieval institution placed literacy within reach of all those who wished to acquire it without depending on tutors, craft masters, or priests: the lay public school. Information on the subject is scattered, but we know that schools of this kind existed in Florence and Pistoia as early as the twelfth century, and in Ghent, the largest center of the Flemish woolen industry and trade, by 1179. In early fourteenth-century Florence, according to Giovanni Villani, merchant and historian of the town, between eight and ten thousand boys *and girls* a year learned to read. In a city of a little over a hundred thousand inhabitants, this came close to universal literacy.¹² Thus Italy, which in the eleventh century had already bewildered a German visitor by its propensity to send to school even boys not destined to an ecclesiastic career, three hundred years later gave the bad example of wasting public money to educate girls! No other country before the high Renaissance displayed such a dangerous indulgence, but some of the wax tablets used for practice in a writing school of fourteenth-century Lübeck, the central hub of Hanseatic trade, contain drafts for business correspondence. By the late fifteenth century, even the London goldsmiths had issued a rule forbidding any member of their guild to take an apprentice unless he could "*writte and Rede.*"¹³

Full literacy among males, of course, is only a first step in the pursuit of knowledge. Before moving on to higher cultural manifestations, however, I must supply some evidence in support of my third contention, that in the late medieval Italian cities (and probably in many other places) more was written in connection with business than with any other activity. This does not necessarily mean that more writings have come down to us. Literary

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or scientific works and administrative papers may have a long life, but most commercial writing was destroyed when the transactions it recorded had been completed, when the firm was dissolved, or, later, when archivists had to make room for more prestigious papers. Paul Mayer whisked away from the shop of a grocer, who had been using them to wrap his merchandise, the remaining leaves of the oldest extant book of accounts from Provence; Solomon Goitein rescued from oblivion many boxes of Old Cairo business correspondence that had been labeled by a Cambridge archivist "commercial papers of no importance." Genoa, fortunately, was one of the first cities that ordered notaries to preserve forever at home or deposit in the municipal archives all the minutes of the instruments they drafted, most of which were directly or indirectly concerned with trade. As a result, for the thirteenth century alone we still possess almost 150 Genoese minute books, each book containing hundreds of minutes; but this is less than one percent of the minute books that Genoa's two hundred registered notaries actually filled over a hundred years.¹⁴ Turning to another class of documents, we have the exceptionally well-preserved archives of the Datini company of merchant bankers in Prato near Florence, containing about 500 books of account and over 150,000 letters exchanged in the mid-fourteenth century between the home office and branch agents all over Europe and the Mediterranean world. And, of course, the Datini company was only one of innumerable firms—a large one, but not one of the very largest.¹⁵

Records of this kind are not aimed at literary beauty, but even the drabest among them have unexpected flashes of humor and flickers of tragedy. They reflect far more than the starkly economic facet of life; they offer an almost incredible variety of information about political, religious, intellectual, and social matters, touching not merely the upper class but people in every station. If I might be allowed to advertise my favorite stock in the historical trade, I would recommend it to the special attention of young scholars (by which I mean all scholars whose curiosity keeps them forever young). What is more, business records have been less studied and belabored than most nobler writings. Hence

they offer opportunities to work on the unprinted and to discover the unsuspected. Then I would submit to my friends and masters, the paleographers, a humble suggestion: that commercial script be included in their courses not as a marginal and optional subject but as an essential one. We economic historians are willing to teach our students how to read business documents (they are different, but not particularly difficult), and yet we need the paleographers' help in the higher levels of their discipline, the study of script as a part of intellectual history.

Let us turn now to the pursuit of knowledge. Not surprisingly, it was especially intensive in the directions that would help sharpen a merchant's professional tools. "Whoever is slow in writing his records cannot live long without damage and error," says a Genoese poet and merchant of the thirteenth century, and he adds a more solemn warning: "Make your weighing so accurate that you may never be caught in error, remembering the scales in which *you* are going to be weighed." Dino Compagni, the Florentine chronicler and poet in Dante's age, places the ability to "write accounts well-kept and free from oversight" at the top of the virtues that add dignity to a merchant's character.¹⁶ Indeed, the medieval revival of arithmetic takes off in 1202 with the *Liber Abbaci* of Leonardo Fibonacchi of Pisa, son of the chief administrator of the Pisan extraterritorial counting-house at Bougie (in modern Algeria). A remarkably clear and comprehensive manual, not surpassed before the high Renaissance, it used the so-called Arabic numerals and chose commercial transactions and partnerships for nearly all of its problems and examples. Arabic figures met with some resistance—it was said in conservative circles that they could be fraudulently altered without detection—but abridgments, adaptations, and extracts of Fibonacchi's manual promptly became ubiquitous in Italy and abroad.¹⁷ More sophisticated calculations of such matters as discount rates and conversions from one coinage or system of weight to another were further developed in specialized handbooks of commercial practice, of which I will speak later. But the most impressive achievement of Italian merchants between the early thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries was the transforma-

tion of accounting from random garbled notes to a fully developed double-entry system, substantially the very one that is used today by the largest banks, public corporations, and public administrations. The only important difference is that we no longer use the abacus but the computer. The latter certainly saves time, but it magnifies the occasional lapses of those who feed it.¹⁸

Legal studies, especially in commercial and maritime law, were another pursuit offering merchants both pleasure and profit. By the first half of the thirteenth century a fair number of Italian merchants completed their education at the young university of Bologna. Their example was soon followed by German merchants, but not by so many as went to Venice to learn both business contracts and double-entry accounting, for Roman law as taught in the universities did supply general principles and some technical rules that were constantly quoted in medieval commercial contracts, but it was not quite adjusted to the continuous innovations of living commercial and maritime law. Therein lay one of the greatest contributions of the medieval merchant, who not only studied but largely created an entirely new body of legislation. Civil and canon jurisprudence still served as its frame, but the substance became immensely flexible and well suited to a far more dynamic economy than that of the classic world.¹⁹ The earliest surviving codification of this composite law comes from twelfth-century Pisa, fifty years before Fibonacci's mathematical book, though there is probably still earlier material in a badly preserved text from Amalfi. The oldest extant manuscript of Pisa's code, neatly divided into civil and customary law, is in the Yale University Library. Written almost certainly by a notary temporarily hired by the municipal courts, it bears in its margins the marks of the continuing additions and changes in the city law and custom.²⁰ Governed as they were by their own merchants with no interference from royal or feudal supervisors, the cities of northern and central Italy molded their laws as they pleased, often amending them unofficially through private arrangements between merchants and notaries, who belonged to the same class and sometimes swapped roles. And even

where cities were not free, unofficial collections of customary merchant law, such as the Catalan "Consulate of the Sea" and the French "Oleron Rolls," formed a body of international uses which no king or lord could safely ignore if he wanted to attract foreign merchants and mariners to his markets.²¹

In turn, merchants had to be knowledgeable about foreign customs, measurements, tolls, merchandise, and languages. Latin, the Esperanto of medieval Europe, was a must. It still was used in many fifteenth-century records of Hansa merchants, more conservative than the Mediterranean ones. But sooner or later Latin tended to be edged out by national and local vernaculars, especially in the informal, autograph papers that merchants began to use as soon as they felt that their signatures, in lieu of the notarial seal, were known well enough to serve as certification. There were interpreters in every trading center, and the merchants themselves usually learned those foreign terms and sentences that were indispensable for travellers. Some terms, anyway, were the same everywhere, with borrowings from Arabic, Greek, French, English, German, and above all Italian, peacefully coexisting in a *lingua franca*. Foreign-born wives or mistresses were helpful teachers. So was a long residence abroad. And there were literary dividends, too; nearly all the Italians who in the thirteenth century wrote respectable lyrics in Provençal were merchants. Benedetto Zaccaria, Genoa's famed merchant admiral and diplomat, wrote for Philip the Fair, in witty and almost flawless French, a plan of naval warfare against England, and Benedict Kotrulich, a merchant from Dubrovnik, gave Italy, in Italian, a treatise on the "mercante perfetto," almost a hundred years before Castiglione gave Europe his memorable book on the perfect courtier. There were dictionaries of more outlandish languages. The most stunning is the *Codex Cumanicus*, a trilingual vocabulary and elementary grammar compiled in 1303, probably by a Genoese merchant, which translated Latin into Persian and into Cumanic, a Turkic language spoken all over the immense Mongolian empire, all the way from the Black Sea to the South China Sea.²²

Geography was another indispensable tool. There were "portulans" (descriptions of seaports and their approaches) so accu-

rate that one of them has helped me to identify places along the Spanish and the English coasts at a time when going to Europe by ship was not yet too expensive for a professor. Accompanying them, or independently prepared, there were maps—the oldest extant from late thirteenth-century Genoa, the prettiest from fourteenth-century Majorca, the most epoch-making, perhaps, the planisphere of Belgian-born Mercator (a pseudonym which meant, of course, “merchant”). When one compares the oldest navigational map made in Genoa to an almost contemporary but noncommercial English one (the Hereford Map), the difference between reality and fancy is striking. Crowded with lovely but imaginary monsters, the Hereford Map is full of distortions, whereas that of Genoa is almost as good as any early nineteenth-century map.²³

On the other hand, one wishes that medieval merchants had been less reluctant to write down their travel impressions. Probably most of them were too busy, or too afraid that their information might be used by competitors, to make their experience available to posterity. What little we know about the courageous expedition of the Vivaldi brothers westward into the Atlantic Ocean in a search for a commercial route to “the Indies,” as early as 1291, might never have been revealed if the explorers had not disappeared at sea, thus making their failure a warning to others not to try again. Domenichino D’Oria’s interesting remarks about the peoples and ports of Western Europe, Byzantine Trebizond, and Turkish Asia Minor were communicated to the Muslim geographer al’Umari in the forced leisure of a Cairo jail, where both were confined in 1339 or 1340; al’Umari later included them in his work, but the Genoese fellow-merchants of Domenichino did not read it. Happily the chance encounter, in Genoa’s war prisoners’ camp, of Marco Polo, the Venetian merchant, with Rustichello, a Pisan scribbler of novels of chivalry, produced one of the most fascinating and instructive accounts of faraway lands that ever has been written. Polo’s book, dictated to Rustichello, soon became and remained throughout the Middle Ages what we might call anachronistically a “best seller.” Judging from the number of surviving manuscripts, however, the fictional travel

book ascribed to one John Mandeville, a clever concoction of missionaries' authentic accounts and of popular legends, reached a still larger audience, as often happens when a popularizer pits himself against a bona fide scholar. A number of shorter accounts of genuine merchant travel to the Far East and other parts of the world, ranging from Othere's description of Scandinavia in the time of King Alfred to Afanasij Nikitin's writing on Central Asia in the age of Ivan the Great, have come down to us, but none matches the scope and interest of Polo's *Milione*. The relative dearth of narrative sources is a pity, for a number of recently unearthed notarial and legal documents indicate that between 1335 and 1345 there was almost a rush of Italian merchants to India and China. A sly allusion in the *Decameron* implies that at that time, fifty years after Polo's return to Venice, the Genoese were more glib than the Venetians in bragging about their Far Eastern experiences. Fortunately the newly unearthed documents contain valuable economic and human information which will form an important addition to Polo's book.²⁴

Merchants were bound to be interested in every aspect of technology and applied science that would increase their profits, but their contribution in these fields is not easily evaluated. Only in recent times has the inventor emerged from anonymity. Moreover, one would expect that merchants were promoters and suppliers of capital more often than devisers of new mechanical contrivances. Everywhere except in Italy they lost face if they dirtied their hands with anything but ink. The Italian merchant-banker was sometimes invidiously represented in agrarian France as a greedy usurer who came with nothing but a pen and an inkwell to carry away everything the borrower possessed in exchange for a piece of paper convertible into desperately needed cash. Such a characterization, however, failed to do justice to the function of credit extended for economic development. The loan shark preyed on the destitute, the incapable, or the prodigal, but the merchant preferred to advance funds for the purchase of tools and the increase of productivity. His entrepreneurship, backed by his knowledge of markets, plants, minerals, industrial products, and processes in different countries, was largely responsible

for the diffusion of many technological innovations that raised the medieval standard of living far above that of classic antiquity. Whether or not he himself invented, he knew how to put inventions to work: the Oxford philosophers speculated about the properties of magnifying glasses, but it took the Venetian merchants to organize, in 1300, a guild of makers of eyeglasses.²⁵

To those who would like a more thorough survey of the practical aspects of merchant culture, I warmly recommend a class of medieval books that economic historians classify under the modern title of *pratica della mercatura*. The oldest extant among these unpretentious encyclopedias of commercial science, still unprinted, was written in Pisa in 1278, although it is preserved only in an incomplete seventeenth-century copy. Its central core, like that of all other manuals of its kind, was formed by lists of commodities available in the most important markets, their qualities and shortcomings together with the way to tell good grades from inferior ones, their cost including transportation and taxes, and all that was needed to convert foreign weights and coins into domestic ones. In addition, there were models of commercial contracts, an astrological calendar of favorable and unfavorable days and months for operations (both commercial and surgical ones), and, lastly, a condensed account of Pisan history. The initial entry of the latter is the date of foundation of the cathedral of Pisa back in 1064, the last, alas, a reference to the wars that soon were to bring Pisa's prosperity to an end. The participation of a small Pisan contingent in the first crusade is recorded with the slight overstatement that the Pisans conquered the Holy Land. Still another entry refers to a raid on Amalfi. Of the booty captured there the only item mentioned is the manuscript of Justinian's Digest, which remained the prized possession of the Pisan commune until the Florentines in turn conquered Pisa and carried the manuscript to Florence, where it still can be seen. The astrological calendar has some surprising suggestions, such as that of shunning marriage with a virgin bride when under the influence of Virgo, but carrying on boldly with any woman who is not a virgin. More wisely, the different business activities recommended under eleven constellations seem to agree roughly

with the weather that can be expected. Under the twelfth no business whatsoever is allowed, which places the merchant's right to a vacation under the protection of the stars.

Still more wisely, astrology was eased out in all later manuals but one, the Venetian *Zibaldone da Canal*, which includes among other items an historical compendium starting with Adam and Eve, a handful of mathematical exercises, very helpful designs of ships, a few medical recipes, and a short anthology of vernacular poems and prose. To Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti, an agent of Florence's largest company of merchant-bankers in the early fourteenth century, we owe what was probably the best balanced of all manuals so far published and studied. Pegolotti leaves poetry to the poets and astrology to the fools, but offers the fullest lists of wares and their distinctive characteristics, replaces elementary problems with advanced calculations of interest, discount, and usance, explains with scientific precision several chemical and metallurgical processes, and covers the whole world of the medieval merchant from Newcastle to Peking. Even though every encyclopedia of practical business science deployed a part of its subject matter according to the individual preference of its usually anonymous author, the bulk was uniform and repetitious, if only because a good proportion of the raw material derived from official regulations and tariffs which every traveler could read and copy for himself.²⁶

I do not want to give the impression that the medieval merchant was invariably a dry, colorless man interested only in making money and blind to the loftier spheres of culture. He did not mind reading for pleasure, and sometimes even bought books. More often than not a rugged individualist in his own profession, but eager to share his risks with his associates and his gains with his fellow-citizens, in his extracurricular activities he felt fully at ease as a leader of his own city. The Italian commune—that government of the merchants, by the merchants, for the merchants—offered him the best opportunity in history to attain his varied goals. Without disrespect for Hans Baron, Paul Kristeller, Eugenio Garin, and other historians who have vindicated the sincerity of humanists pleading for the classic ideal of civic virtue in

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an age of decadent republicanism and rampant despotism, I submit that what became mainly a noble utopia in the Renaissance had sometimes actually been a way of life in the medieval city—most particularly in Italy, but to a variable extent in other regions of Europe where cities enjoyed a measure of autonomy. This does not mean that medieval merchants were unselfish patriots, but they did identify the greatness and welfare of their city with those of their family and business, firmly believing—to borrow the unforgettable words of one of President Eisenhower's cabinet members—that "what is good for General Motors is good for the country." They were unstintingly dedicated to the city which offered them every chance for self-fulfillment; or, rather, they were dedicated at least so long as their party was in the saddle and not in exile. They served their republics as public officials, as soldiers, as diplomats, as propagandists, and as economic and legal experts. Increasingly, moreover, as time went by, they served with their eloquence and their pens, and this opened to them a back-door entrance into literature proper. We have no verbatim transcripts of their public speeches, and the extremely concise minutes of meetings that have been preserved do not adequately reflect the quality and warmth of discussions that often lasted for weeks. The literary talent of some merchants, however, eventually found lasting expression in chronicles of their cities. Here, in the patriotic if partisan narration of people who had been not only witnesses but often protagonists in the events, the merchant inserted his unconscious self-portrait into the collective representation of the entire community. While Villehardouin, Joinville, and Froissart painted a glittering but restricted image of their nation as a parade of knights presided over by good or bad monarchs, Compagni and Villani in Florence, Martino da Canal in Venice, Caffaro and Jacopo d'Oria in Genoa drew a cross-section of their communities as republics of merchants. So did, later, the anonymous author of the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* and two merchant chroniclers of Augsburg, Burkard Zink and Hektor Müllich.²⁷

No professional merchant, to my knowledge, doubled as an architect, sculptor, or painter, and yet it would not be off the

mark to say that the city itself was essentially his work of art. Its market places, its shops, its arcades, its fountains, its hospitals, its docks, its bridges, its town halls and guildhalls, and its better mansions all reflected the culture of the merchant class that paid for the buildings and planned the open spaces according to its needs and tastes.²⁸ Nowhere is this more evident than in certain affinities between places linked by nothing other than the travels of merchants. Some time ago I was struck by the close resemblance of the town hall belfry of Torun (the Polish birthplace of Copernicus) to the town hall belfry of Bruges, hundreds and hundreds of miles farther west. "Of course," a local historian told me; "Torun is at the eastern end of a Hansa route. A Hansa merchant persuaded an architect from Bruges to come along and build a replica of his belfry on the banks of the Vistula." Not long ago, in a Chinese city near Nanking, a curious tombstone was found. It had a Gothic inscription commemorating one Caterina Ilione, buried there in 1342, and a Chinese seal (saying, approximately, "Seen and approved"), together with an image of the Virgin and Child, and scenes of the martyrdom of St. Catherine, iconologically orthodox but providing all personages with Oriental, slanting eyes. There was some debate about the possible identification of Caterina Ilione and her father, Domenico, also mentioned in the inscription, but ultimately I had the good luck of finding a slightly earlier notarial document citing Domenico Ilione as a prominent member of the Genoese merchant community in the same Chinese town.²⁹

I hope I have said enough to suggest that at least some medieval merchants are suitable for admission via one door or another into the halls of literature and art. I do not want to overstate their merits, however—not at an institute of medieval and *Renaissance* studies. There is quite a difference between the medieval, part-time, low-profile involvement of merchants in humanism, and the total immersion of many Renaissance merchants in the world of humanities. Leon Battista Alberti, the descendant of many generations of merchant-bankers, played down with cursory mention if not faint praise the commercial traditions of his family in order that he might appear more thoroughly a gentle-

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man farmer steeped in all forms of art. Lorenzo il Magnifico did not allow the failure of his bank to distract him from politics and poetry. But these two instances represent a unique phenomenon in history. It happened only once, and in an effort to explain it many students of the Renaissance, from Jakob Burckhardt on, have put forward hypotheses on the interplay of economics and culture which I will briefly examine in my final comments here. Burckhardt (the master of us all, though not an infallible one) built his interpretation on two widely shared assumptions: first, that there is a connection between the economic setup and the cultural characteristics of every civilization and era; and, second, that economic and cultural growth are interdependent enough to justify maintaining that economic success is an essential factor and explanation of cultural distinction. Provided that the connection between economics and culture is understood in terms of congeniality or compatibility and not of direct causality, the first assumption is almost as safe as a truism. Brain and stomach are mutually indispensable; they exchange messages, and some of the messages leave imprints at both ends. Of course there are freaks, but normally what the Middle Ages would have called the dialogue between the spirit and the flesh is reasonably audible under the louder noise of style, rhetoric, and inspiration.

The second assumption, however, that economic and cultural growth go together, is impossible to prove. In fact, it is altogether wrong. Carried to its extreme, it would make us expect that since the gross national product of the bicentennial United States is, say, a thousand times larger than that of Renaissance Florence, we should not be content with less than a thousand Leonardo da Vincis and Guicciardinis. Contained within more reasonable limits, it still would clash with the fact that history indicates no consistent correlation between economic and cultural peaks. The age of Louis XIV combined literary and artistic blossoming with political power and economic strength, but Bach and Beethoven, Goethe and Schiller were born in a divided and economically backward Germany. Most people will agree that Victorian England was richer and more powerful than Elizabethan England, but Kipling was not really so great as Shakespeare. To go back to

the Middle Ages and Renaissance, nobody believes any more that prosperity began in the *quattrocento*, and most economic historians regard the thirteenth century as the all-time high point before the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, the fourteenth century as an age of crisis and depression, and the fifteenth as a period of moderate, shaky, and incomplete recovery.

It is always possible to quibble in order to rescue an untenable assumption. Nevertheless, given the facts in the case at hand, it seems wiser to look for a correlation that will work. Aware of the fact that the intellectual explosion of the Renaissance came later than the economic spurt of the Middle Ages, Wallace Ferguson has suggested that a correlation may nevertheless be postulated in the form of a cultural lag. A two-hundred-year lag is not the easiest thing to explain, in my opinion, but it brings to mind the three stages which Henri Pirenne observed in the evolution of businessmen's families. In its fastest and simplest course, a man raises himself from rags to riches by relentless and single-minded pursuit of gain, his son nurses and expands his capital while acquiring social refinement and awareness of other sources of satisfaction than money, and the son's son rejects business and spends his inherited capital in whatever manner pleases him. The sequence may take more generations than three, and does not necessarily destroy capitalism, because every generation produces its own first-stage businessmen. The economic crisis of the *trecento*, however, leaves the *quattrocento* with fewer businessmen because it has inherited few second-stage capitalists, and it offers relatively limited opportunities for beginners to complete the first stage (from rags to riches).

All this, however, does not explain why Renaissance merchants spent a larger proportion of time and capital in cultural pursuits than did their medieval predecessors. The only correlation of this essentially intellectual shift with economic considerations is, in my opinion, one of preferential investment. What share of the resources acquired in business should be fed back to business, and what share should be invested in culture? Although this is not a question which a teacher at Duke University can assail without special soul-searching, I would suggest as

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an answer, "as much as can be diverted from business without hampering its growth." The early medieval merchant may have spent too little for culture. Had he known more than just reading and writing, he might have increased not only his intellectual range but his commercial efficiency as well. Aware of what changes time was to bring, one well might ask if the Renaissance merchant was too lavish. On this question I take the fifth amendment. On the other hand, I have no qualms in proclaiming that the late medieval merchant invested in culture a substantial amount of time, money, and effort.³⁰

Notes

1. W. Sombart, *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, I and II, 2nd ed. (Munich and Leipzig, copyright 1916); H. Pirenne, "L'Instruction des marchands au moyen âge," *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* (1929); A. Saporì, "La cultura del mercante medievale italiano," *Rivista di storia economica*, 4 (1929).
2. It has long been believed that Boccaccio was born in Paris, the offspring of one of those adulterous unions between Italian merchants and French women that were deplored by Dante (*Par.*, XV, 118-120). This conclusion was based largely on an interpretation of Boccaccio's own innuendoes, but recent studies seem to prove that the innuendoes were mere literary fiction and that Boccaccio probably was born at or near Certaldo of an unknown Tuscan woman.
3. S. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Chicago, 1948), has little praise to bestow on the late flowering of merchant culture; she does mention an alderman who died in 1312 and wished his sons to stay at school until they could write reasonably good verses (p. 160, n. 11), and merchants' sons studying law (p. 225), but she indicates that Chaucer called all merchants bores (p. 316).
4. M. M. Postan, "Partnership in English Medieval Commerce," *Studi in Onore di Armando Saporì* (Milan, 1957), I, 521-549.
5. English translation from R. S. Lopez and I. W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (New York, 1955), pp. 114-115.
6. F. Edler De Roover, "A Prize of War: A Painting of Fifteenth Century Merchants," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, 19 (1945), 3-12.
7. See, for instance, P. Burke, *Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy 1420-1540* (New York, 1972), and the less brilliant book of J. Larner, *Culture and Society in Italy 1290-1420* (New York, 1971).
8. On the Old Cairo correspondence, see Solomon Goitein's monumental *A Mediterranean Society* (3 vols. so far, Berkeley, Calif., 1967 ff.) and his anthology of letters in translation, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton, 1973). On Italian correspondence, see some translated examples in Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*.
9. Petrucci's paper and other important contributions to the history of early medieval education are collected in *La scuola nell' Occidente latino dell' alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1972). On the moneyers one may see R. S. Lopez, "An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages," *Speculum*, 28 (1953), 1-43.
10. R. S. Lopez, *Studi sull'economia genovese nel medio evo* (Turin, 1936), p. 106 and n. 2; A. Saporì, *La mercatura medievale* (Florence, 1972), p. 50.
11. F. Borlandi, "La formazione culturale del mercante genovese nel medioevo," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 77 (1963); D. Puncuh, "La scuola e la cultura," *ibid.*, 78, part 1 (1964), p. 200. The latter volume contains an ample selection of facsimile reproductions of notarial documents, with their transcription on facing pages and with bibliographic information. Far less well known than Cappelli's old manual of abbreviations, it can be recommended as the best available introduction to practical commercial paleography.
12. Besides the essays of Pirenne and Saporì, cited at n. 1, see L. Chiappelli, "Maestri e scuole in Pistoia fino al secolo XIV," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 78 (1920), 161-214; J. Le Goff, *Marchands et banquiers du moyen âge* (Paris, 1956), p. 100; Villani translated in Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*, p. 72. Long after Italian manuals for the education of women suggested that even lay women might be taught to read, manuals of other countries specifically forbade it—and even in Italy theory and practice did not always go together.
13. F. Rörig, *The Medieval Town* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967), p. 133; S. Thrupp, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

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14. G. Costamagna, *Il notaio a Genova tra prestigio e potere* (Rome, 1970). It must be noted, however, that a large proportion of the minute books have been patched together at a later time by binding under one cover fragments of minute books that had been scattered over the centuries. Genoa, at any rate, preserves the oldest extant minute book, almost complete (Johannes Scriba, 1154-1164) and many other fragments of the twelfth century. A partial list of medieval minute books from other cities was published in R. S. Lopez, "The Unexplored Wealth of the Notarial Archives in Pisa and Lucca," *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951). Another partial list, by R. H. Bautier, is in *Les Sources de l'histoire maritime en Europe, Actes du IV Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime* (Paris, 1962). Neither is complete, and new medieval minute books are being found (and in some cases published) in France, Catalonia, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, and elsewhere. Notarial books appear much later in northern Europe.

15. See R. De Roover's chapter and bibliography in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, ed. M. Postan, E. E. Rich, and Edward Miller, III (Cambridge, 1963), 42-118. The Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica Francesco Datini, established in Datini's recently restored house, devotes part of its activity to the preservation and publication of Datini material. It also holds every year a "Settimana" (week) or conference on pre-modern economic history. Federigo Melis, its founder, has published several works based on that material, notably *Aspetti della vita economica medievale* (Siena, 1962); since his death, the Istituto has continued its activity under the direction of Fernand Braudel. Lists of published account books and commercial correspondence may be found in A. Saporì, *Studi di storia economica*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1955-67). Translation of some examples may be found in Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*.

16. See Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*, pp. 424-426. Similar advice, common in didactic works for merchants, may be found elsewhere.

17. L. Fibonacci (i.e., Leonardo son of Bonaccio), *Liber Abbaci* (Rome, 1857); translated excerpts in Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*, pp. 343-345. Arabic numerals were used at the same time in the Genoese minute book of *Giovanni di Guiberto*, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1939-40; see the preface by its editors, M. W. Hall-Cole, H. C. Krueger, R. G. Reinert, and R. L. Reynolds), but they did not appear in contracts or holograph commercial writings before the mid-fourteenth century. General bibliography in A. C. Crombie, *Medieval and Early Modern Science* (Garden City, N. Y., 1959).

18. The latest study in English is by R. De Roover, "The Development of Accounting Prior to Luca Pacioli According to the Account Books of Medieval Merchants," in A. C. Littleton and B. S. Yamey, *Studies in the History of Accounting* (London 1956), pp. 114-174.

19. A basic bibliography up to 1950, as well as many examples of contracts, may be found in Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*, Part 3. Unfortunately the subject has attracted less attention of late, but some of its aspects are considered in F. Calasso, *Introduzione al diritto comune* (Milan, 1951) and in two excellent monographs initially conceived as Yale dissertations: A. Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam* (Princeton, 1970), and B. Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis* (New Haven, 1976). See also a short survey in French on the commercial techniques of Western merchants, in R. S. Lopez, *Su e giù per la storia di Genova* (Genoa, 1975).

20. Yale Beinecke MS 415. Gabriella Airaldi, of the University of Genoa, is now preparing a parallel edition of this manuscript and of a Vatican manuscript which appears to be the second earliest.

21. On this topic also the only general works are old. One still has to use, for a

first orientation, W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-Law* (Oxford, 1909), and W. Mitchell, *An Essay on the Early History of the Law Merchant* (Cambridge, 1904). There are, however, new editions and studies of individual legal works, too numerous for citation here.

22. G. Kuun, ed., *Codex Cumanicus* (Budapest, 1880), and, among the many hypotheses about its origin, B. Z. Kedar, p. 161, with which I agree. See also C. Schiaparelli, ed., *Vocabulista in arabico* (Florence, 1871); H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant* (Urbana, 1958); and the manual of commercial French published by P. Mayer in *Romania*, 32 (1903), 49-58. In the principal cities of Italy and their colonies abroad the government paid the salary of interpreters of many languages as early as the thirteenth century.

23. G. H. T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (London, 1935) is still the best general introduction to the subject in English. More recent but more narrowly technical is L. Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, revised by R. A. Skelton (London, 1964). Bibliographic information may be found in the good paper by M. Quaini, "Catalogna e Liguria nella cartografia nautica e nei portolani medievali," *Atti del I Congresso Storico Liguria-Catalogna* (Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Bordighera, 1974).

24. Probably the best fairly recent survey of a subject on which the bibliography is enormous, if not always good, is L. R. Nougier, J. Beaujeu, and M. Mollat, *Histoire universelle des explorations*, I (Paris, 1955). Among important later works one may mention R. Mauny, *Les Navigations médiévales sur les côtes sahariennes* (Lisbon, 1960); D. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, I (Chicago, 1965); and Charles Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization*, trans. Yvonne Frecero (Ithaca, 1970). My early article, "European Merchants in the Medieval Indies," *Journal of Economic History*, 3 (1943), 164-184, is now superseded by others collected in my *Su e giù per la storia di Genova* (Genoa, 1975), pp. 83-186. See also Lynn White, "Medieval Borrowings from Further Asia," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 5 of the Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Chapel Hill, 1971), pp. 3-26, sometimes overenthusiastic but most stimulating.

25. There is no specialized work on the contribution of merchants to technological development (other than commercial mental techniques), but J. Gimpel, *La Révolution industrielle du Moyen âge* (Paris, 1975), and C. M. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture* (London, 1967, with a useful bibliography), come close to it.

26. Two articles, written in preparation of a postponed publication of the manuscript, give excerpts of the Pisan manual and bibliographic data on the others: R. S. Lopez, "Stars and Spices: The Earliest Italian Manual of Commercial Practice," *Explorations in Economic History*, 7(1969/70), 35-43, and "Un Texte inédit: le plus ancien manuel italien de technique commerciale," *Revue Historique*, 243 (1970), 67-76.

27. At this level of generalization it would be pointless to suggest a few references; the bibliography would have to cover the entire fields of economic and urban history of the Middle Ages. I have expressed my views in greater detail and with bibliographic apparatus in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, ed. M. Postan and E. E. Rich, II (Cambridge, 1952), 257-354 (now being prepared for a revised edition), in *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1976), and elsewhere; my debt to other scholars, such as Luzzatto, Saporì, Vitale, Renouard, Braudel, Reynolds, Lane, and many, many others is immense, and hence cannot be expressed in a mere footnote.

28. For a preliminary discussion of problems in this field, see the cooperative volume *Les Constructions civiles d'intérêt public dans les villes d'Europe au Moyen Age et sous l'Ancien Regime et leur financement*, Actes du Colloque Inter-

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national de Spa, Pro Civitate (Brussels, 1971). "Investments and Urban Culture, XIIIth-XVIIIth Century" was the theme of the international Settimana of the Istituto Datini, held in Prato, 1977; its *Atti* also are to be published.

29. See R. S. Lopez, "Nouveaux Documents sur les marchands italiens en Chine à l'époque mongole," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus* (1977).

30. A fuller statement of the views expressed in the last few pages can be found in my *The Three Ages of the Italian Renaissance* (Charlottesville, Va., 1970), with full bibliographic references.

Fin'Amors: *Its History and Meaning* in *Medieval Literature*

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Courtly love, for several generations now a catchall term to speak of that which was apparently at the heart of medieval poetry and society, even the term *par excellence* for describing the essence of the Middle Ages, has increasingly been facing challenges to its meaning and its very existence. Literary scholars as disparate as D. W. Robertson, Jr., and E. Talbot Donaldson have separately attacked the reality of courtly love,¹ pointing out that the term is in fact a neologism coined in 1883 by Gaston Paris;² and historians, notably John F. Benton, have urged that in spite of appearances, no courts of love existed in medieval society.³ Such challenges have prompted defenses—by Jean Frappier and F. L. Utley among others⁴—and, most significantly, they have caused scholars to re-examine the relevant literature of love and to re-assess it and its terminology.

The problem clearly extends beyond terminology, even if we reject *amour courtois* as a meaningful term. (*Cortez'amors* is used but once in extant Provençal poetry, in a late twelfth-century lyric by Peire d'Alvernhe; and the related phrase *amic cortes* is found, incongruously, in a bawdy poem by the troubadour Bernart Marti.)⁵ We still have the pervasive and probably more meaningful term *fin'amors* to deal with, a term found in one form or another—*fin amor*, *fin'amore*, etc.—throughout medieval Romance languages and in English in the related form *fyn love*. In the German *Minnesang*, as Wilhelm Kellermann among others has noted, *fin'amors* is properly translated as *hohe Minne*.⁶

In 1964 Moshé Lazar attempted to distinguish between *fin'amors* and *amour courtois* as reflecting different kinds of love.⁷

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He took *fin'amors* to be amorous, adulterous love, having sexual desire as its essence, and representing a conception of love common to all the troubadours without exception. He saw *amour courtois*, on the other hand, as a noble affection marking the Northern French romances, a love capable of suggesting Christian mystical love. Such, however, was what earlier scholars like Eduard Wechssler, Hennig Brinkmann, and Dmitri Scheludko had defined as the nature of *fin'amors*,⁸ a view reaffirmed in 1965, the year after Lazar's work, by Charles Camproux in his study of *joi d'amour*.⁹ It is not that one man's adultery is another man's mysticism or that the problem of definition can be solved by postulating, as Leo Pollmann did in 1966, that in the troubadour lyric a system of love is set up paralleling that of Christianity, where *fin'amors* replaces *caritas* as the sovereign good and where the laws of *fin'amors* replace those of Christianity.¹⁰ Rather, the nature of *fin'amors*, like that of the terms ordinarily used to define it—*jovens*, *proeza*, *jois*, *cortezia*, *pretz*, *mezura*, *honors*, *valors*¹¹—is complex and different from ordinary modern conceptions of love. As Camproux states it, the troubadours habitually used in the same poem the bawdy language of the common man, the technical speech of clerics and alchemists, the respectful addresses of feudal society, and the rhetoric traditionally belonging to the lyric.¹² Whereas studies of *jovens*, *jois*, and *mezura*, in particular, have been made, *fin'amors* has escaped analysis, though scholars such as A. J. Denomy and Paul Imbs have emphasized the term in their studies,¹³ and though several conferences and collections of essays have been useful in furthering our awareness of the problems and issues.¹⁴ There is still, after all this, little scholarly agreement about what precisely is the thing called *fin'amors*.¹⁵

Rather than speak *in vacuo* about the term or the concept, rather than try to find the ultimate or particular source of *fin'amors* (whether in Classical Latin elegiac verse, patristic exegesis, Cistercian and Victorine mysticism, or Arabic hermeticism),¹⁶ and rather than concentrate on some particular writer's idea of love, it may be most valuable to trace the key term *fin'amors* from its first uses in the early twelfth century to its later appearances at

the end of the Middle Ages and hope thereby to see what the term means and how it is used. Such is the purpose of this essay.

First of all, the original meaning of *fin'amors* is itself difficult to ascertain. Though Maurice Valency sees *fi(n)s* derived from Latin *fidem*, and having the sense of faithful, honest, sincere, and true, such an etymology is doubtful, as James J. Wilhelm points out, for the Latin dental never yields a Provençal nasal, and the nasal occurs in all feminine forms of the word.¹⁷ The traditional derivation from Latin *finitum* may still be plausible, with *fin'* meaning "refined," then, by extension, "precious," and finally "lasting"; but the etymon of *fin'* may be not a Latin adjective but the noun *finis*, meaning literally "end" but figuratively "utmost," "most perfect," and "highest."¹⁸ The basis of the term *fin'amors* would then be *finis amoris*, but, unfortunately, I have not been able to find either this phrase or *amor finitus* in Classical or Medieval Latin, and even though the Provençal words obviously go back to the Latin, the expression itself would seem to have no Latin antecedent.¹⁹ Throughout the Middle Ages *fin'amors* is used synonymously with *bon'amors*, *pur'amors*, *vrai'amors*, etc., and although these terms have counterparts in the Latin literature of the time, *fin'amors* apparently does not.²⁰

Whatever the origin of the term, its first extant use is in the poetry of Marcabru and Cercamon in early twelfth-century Provence. Although it is not clear which poet is the earlier, Marcabru, author of more than forty poems and generally known as the first professional troubadour, is clearly an important figure who cannot be ignored, even though his writings have been seen revealing a spirit distinctly uncourtly.²¹ Modern scholars, uncomfortable with his presentation of love, have frequently tried to make him an exception, as Pierre Belperron does when in his study of the troubadours and courtly love he includes a chapter called "Marcabru ou le faux départ."²² The insistence is that Marcabru is not in the "real" line of love and lyric poetry that runs from Guilhem IX, the first troubadour poet, to Bernart de Ventadorn and the later generations of troubadours, to the late thirteenth century and the so-called last troubadour, Guiraut

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Riquier, as well as to the various courtly vernacular lyrics of Northern France, Germany, Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, and even England. However, a knowledge of Marcabru is necessary for understanding the term *fin'amors*.

Marcabru's conception of *fin'amors*, which has been discussed in detail by Carl Appel, Scheludko, Robertson, and Guido Erante,²³ may easily be seen by briefly examining a few of his uses of the term. In his lyric "Al son desviat, chantaire," which he says will be about false friendship ("fals'Amistat," 3),²⁴ he includes a stanza that makes clear his use of *fin'amors* as a source of virtue and as an ideal now too frequently missing in the world:

Tant cant bos Jovens fon paire
Del segle e fin' Amors maire,
Fon Proeza mantenguda
A celat et a saubuda,
Mas er l'ant avilanada
Duc e rei et emperaire. (37-42)

[As long as good Jovens was father of the world, and fin'Amors the mother, Proeza was maintained privately and publicly, but now they have degraded it, duke, king, and emperor.]

Elsewhere Marcabru associates *fin'amors* with spring and with the time of joy and comfort. It is a love expressly the opposite of false love—"Falss' Amor encontra fina" (37.14); and as he says in his most detailed treatment of the term, in the lyric "Pus mos coratges s'es clarzitz," *fin'amors* is the source of man's true happiness, courtesy, and wisdom:

Aicel cui fin' Amors causitz
Viu letz, cortes e sapiens,
E selh cui refuda delis
E met a totz destruzemens. (40.8-11)

[He whom fin'Amors singles out has a happy, courteous, and wise life, and he whom it rejects, it confounds and subjects to total destruction.]

Marcabru, moreover, seems to identify *fin'amors* with the Christian God, as when he speaks of the fate of false lovers, who apparently will be assigned places in hell by the all-ruling fin'Amors:

Lai penaran, ditz Marcabrus,
Que tuit li fals y an luec pres,
Car fin' Amors o a promes,
Lai er dols dels dezesperatz. (32-35)

[They will be tormented there, says Marcabru; all the false ones have appointed places there; for fin'Amors has promised this: that place will be the sorrow of those in despair.]

Before concluding, Marcabru offers a prayer to this god fin'-Amors, seen as the source of goodness and man's true guide, to keep him from the hell of false lovers:

Ai! fin' Amors, fons de bontat,
C'a[s] tot lo mon illuminat,
Merce ti clam, d'aquel grahus
E'm defendas qu'ieu lai no mus;
Qu'en totz luecx me tenh per ton pres,
Per confortat en totas res,
Per tu esper estre guidatz. (36-42)

[Ah, fin'Amors, fount of goodness, who has illumined all the world, I ask mercy of you; from that torment protect me, that I may not stay there; in all things I hold myself yours; for comfort in all things, through you I hope to be guided.]

This *fin'amors* is precisely that good love detailed in Marcabru's lyric "L'iverns vai e'l temps s'aizina," one of the poems where *falss'amors* is referred to as Amars and seen explicitly as base and lecherous (31.19-22), a lascivious desire that is even unnatural (46-49), a gluttonous desire and fierce fire that put the false lover in perdition. Opposed to this destructive love is good love, which brings medicine to save man:

Bon' Amors porta meizina
Per garir son compaigno,
Amars lo sieu disciplina
E'l met en perdicio. (28-31)

[Bon'Amors brings medicine to cure his companion; Amars constrains him and puts him in perdition.]

The man who holds to this good love will as a matter of course be honorable and virtuous:

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Qui bon' Amor a vezina
E viu de sa liurazo,
Honors e Valors l'aclina
E Pretz sens nuill' ochaio.

(64-67)²⁵

[To him who has bon'Amor as neighbor and who lives within his boundary, Honors, Valors, and Pretz will incline without dispute.]

It is Marcabru's vehement opposition to *falss'amors* or Amars, his moral indignation at the degeneration of ideal love, and his scathingly ironic attacks on the corruption around him that have made him seem out of place in the history of the medieval love lyric. But it is the other side of this coin, his celebration of *fin'amors* as a spiritual ideal lost to the world, that makes Marcabru so significant in understanding the term. The writings of such important troubadours as Bernart Marti and Peire d'Alvernhe, later in the twelfth century, and Peire Cardenal, whose writings apparently spanned the first seven decades of the thirteenth century, are obviously in the tradition of Marcabru.²⁶ But so are the writings of other troubadours who at first glance might seem to have little in common with him.²⁷

The customary distinction between the *idéalistes* and the *réalistes* of the Provençal lyric is inadequate in aiding our understanding of *fin'amors*, and writers as different as Bernart Marti and Jaufre Rudel may with their respective terms, *amor segura*²⁸ and *amor de lonh*,²⁹ have the same ideal of love existing behind or as the basis of their particular presentation of the subject. Jaufre's famous *amor de lonh* ("far-off love" or "love from afar" or perhaps "love of the far off") may be taken, as L. T. Topsfield writes, to be "the highest form of *Fin'Amors*" as described by Marcabru.³⁰ And when, in the lyric "Belhs m'es l'estius e'l temps floritz," Jaufre expresses his own belief in *fin'amors*, it is strikingly close to Marcabru's ideal:

Plus savis hom de mi mespren,
Per qu'ieu sai ben az escien
Qu'anc fin'amors home non trays.

(4-33-35)³¹

[Wiser men than I may err, but I know well that *fin'amors* never betrayed anyone.]

Perhaps, as Topsfield has suggested, Marcabru's ideals were "decisive in establishing the pattern of courtly ideas on love which were accepted by later troubadours, and presumably by the audiences for whom they composed."³² It is also possible that Marcabru's conception of *fin'amors* reflected an already-established pattern, one that was understood by and found indirectly in the writings of other troubadours. That is, Marcabru may have been stating explicitly the spiritual ideal of *fin'amors* that gives meaning to the various expressions of love in other Provençal lyrics. This spiritual ideal would have been known to both the poets and their audiences and would have needed no restatement.

The problem is that when we come to Bernart de Ventadorn and the third generation of troubadours, *fin'amors* seems to refer almost entirely to amorous passion. Bernart has been taken, as Paul Imbs has recently reaffirmed, as the most complete theoretician of *fin'amors*.³³ Moshé Lazar, for instance, suggests that for Marcabru *fin'amors* may signify "amour conjugal, ou amour divin," whereas for Bernart it signifies "amour sensuel . . . adultère et coupable."³⁴ Notwithstanding such a view, Bernart may be close to Marcabru, as when in his lyric "Can la frej' aura venta" he contrasts *fin'amors* with false love:

De domnas m'es vejaire
que gran falhimen fan
per so car no son gaire
amat li fin aman.
eu no'n dei ges retraire
mas so qu'elas volran,
mas greu m'es c'us trichaire
a d'amor ab enjan
o plus o atretan
com cel qu'es fis amaire.

(37.21-30)³⁵

[The ladies, it seems to me, make a great mistake because they do not in any way love the *fin aman*. I should certainly say of them only what they wish, but it is hard for me to endure that a deceiver possesses with falsehood as much love as or more than one who is a *fis amaire*.]

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No matter what may be the subsequent ironic excess when the speaker here says he is dying of his desire ("morir de talan," 34), and no matter that the poem functions as a tongue-in-cheek seduction piece beginning with an ironic presentation of the lady as someone resembling the Virgin Mary,³⁶ still the *trichaire* is overtly contrasted with the *fis amaire* in the way that in Marca-bru's lyrics *Amars* or *falss'amors* is juxtaposed against *fin'amors*. The distinction between the two loves is made even clearer in Bernart's "Chantars no pot gaire valer," where *fin'amors* is contrasted with *amors comunaus* (15.4, 18), ordinary, even vulgar, love, that of the *folà gens*, the foolish people (16). As Bernart writes, this is not love; it has nothing of it except the name and the appearance: "aïsso non es amors; aitaus / no'n a mas lo nom e'l parven" (19-20). No real *joi d'amor* (6), he says, can come from this *enjans* (deceit, 23); and as he affirms in the last line of the poem, one both humorous and serious, Bernart expects to have *joi* ("e'l joi n'aten!" 54).

In general, however, Bernart does not moralize, and his attitude toward love may be best described as one of ironic humor. When, at the beginning of the lyric "Tant ai mo cor ple de joya," he describes how love changes reality, he is obviously presenting it as a false world of illusion that cannot in actuality do any of the things he states:

Tant ai mo cor ple de joya,
tot me desnatura.
flor blancha, vermelh' e groya
me par la frejura,
.
tan ai al cor d'amor,
de joi e de doussor,
per que'l gels me sembla flor
e la neus verdura.

Anar posc ses vestidura,
nutz en ma chamiza,
car fin' amors m'asegura
de la freja biza.

(44.1-4, 9-16)

[My heart is so full of joy that in my view everything changes its nature. The frost appears to me as flowers, white, red, and yellow . . . so much have I in my heart of love, of joy and of sweetness, that the ice seems to me a flower and the snow greenery. I can go without clothes, nude in my shirt, for *fin'amors* will keep me safe from the cold north wind.]

The alternation of joy and sorrow brought about by *fin'amors*, as well as the excessiveness of this love, marks Bernart's poetry; and though traceable back at least as far as the *odi-amor* dichotomy of Catullus, it may be seen as the ordinary way of presenting *amor* in medieval literature. When Bernart says in this same poem that he loves so much with *bon'amor* that many times he weeps about it ("tan l'am de bon' amor / que manhtas vetz en plor," 69-70), the excess and the humor can hardly be overlooked.

Rather than think that the *fin'amors* expressed in the verse of Bernart de Ventadorn is to be taken at face value as an ideal, we might most properly see his presentation of love as ironic. Although he, along with most troubadours, does not overtly condemn love, his use of *fin'amors* may be regarded as parodic. That is, in describing human sexual desire as the spiritual ideal represented by *fin'amors*, the troubadours consciously present something inadequate as though it were something wholly adequate, even ideal, something that is, in effect, the *fin'amors* defined by Marcabru. Such an oblique presentation is in accord with what is found elsewhere in medieval literature, in, for instance, the *De amore* of Andreas Capellanus and the *Roman de la Rose*. The result of such a method is not only the creation of humor but also the calling up of the ideal that exists behind the inadequate given.³⁷

The attitude toward love and the use of *fin'amors* seen in Bernart de Ventadorn spread throughout the Latin West and provided the European vernacular lyric with its dominant method. The earliest French lyrics—those of the late twelfth century by such *trouvères* as Conon de Béthune, Guiot de Provins, Le Chastelain de Couci, and Gace Brulé—are permeated by the term *fin amor*.³⁸ It is found much less frequently in the earliest French romances. It does not appear in the mid-twelfth-century Anglo-

Norman romances of Wace, Benoit de Sainte-Maure, or, perhaps surprisingly, in the *Tristan* of Thomas; and it is found only once in the *Tristan* of Bérout.³⁹ In the dozen *lais* by Marie de France, the term occurs only twice, and both times in a way that seems clearly to be ironic. At the beginning of *Chievrefeuil* Marie says she will tell of Tristan and Iseut, whose love was so *fine* that it brought them great sorrow and even death:

De Tristram e de la reïne,
De lur amur ki tant fu fine,
Dunt il eurent meinte dolur
Puis en mururent en un jur.

(7-10)⁴⁰

A similar association of *fin amor* with death appears in Marie's *Eliduc*, where the hero says to the apparently dead lady Guiliadun that she would have been queen instead of a corpse had it not been for "l'amur leal e fine" which she set on him (943-945). The irony in these instances is based on more than our realization that a love which brings death is hardly *fine* at all; it is also the result of our understanding that this so-called *fin amor* is a deliberate perversion of *fin'amors* as spiritual ideal, as we have seen stated so fully by Marcabru.

The romances of Chrétien de Troyes, later in the twelfth century, likewise contain only two references to *fin amor*, and both of these may also be purposely comic. The first, in the *Chevalier de la Charrete*, concerns Lancelot's response to Guenièvre's displeasure after he has rescued her. Though dumbfounded at her unfair criticism of him, he responds, "molt belemant / a meniere de fin amant" (3961-62).⁴¹ The ludicrousness of the situation may be heightened by Lancelot's ultra-proper and subservient response. Chrétien's second reference is in the *Chevalier au Lion*, where, as Yvain and Gauvain are about to fight, the poet analyzes their feelings. Each knight would rather die than allow any harm to come to his fellow. Chrétien asks, "Is not this a noble and perfect love [Amors antiere et fine]?"⁴² He answers his rhetorical question by saying, "Yes, certainly," but then points out that, paradoxically, along with the love, hate is equally present within the two combatants, and he goes on to wonder in detail

about how love and hate are able to exist together. Even if one does not regard this excessive musing as comic, it surely serves to temper the *fin amor* found in the knights, and it provides an ironic basis for the use of the term. That is, we are made to wonder what "Amors antiere et fine" really is if it is integrally involved with hate and if it can result in mortal combat.

As with the early French lyric, the term *fin'amors* or, more properly, *fin'amore*, also permeates Italian love poetry of the *duecento*, especially that of the Sicilian school, including the work of such better-known poets of the court of Frederick II as Rinaldo d'Aquino, Pier delle Vigne, and Giacomino Pugliese, as well as that of a dozen minor *trovatori*,⁴³ culminating in the work of Guido Guinizelli in the second half of the thirteenth century. After Guido, and after the beginning of the *dolce stil nuovo*, the term *fin'amore* is hardly ever used; and, significantly, Guido uses it only in his so-called *canzoni siciliane*.⁴⁴ It is not to be found in the writings of such Tuscan and Bolognese poets of love as Guido Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni, Gianni Alfani, or Dino Frescobaldi, and it is used only once by Cino da Pistoia, in the first line of his sonnet "Lo fino Amor cortese, ch'ammaestra."⁴⁵ Nor is the expression *fin'amore* to be found much in later Italian poetry, in fact not at all in the next century in the works of Dante, Petrarch, or Boccaccio. For the poets after Guido Guinizelli the favorite term and concept would seem to be the *cor gentile*.

From the second half of the thirteenth century, *fin'amors* has no significant place in the "courtly" poetry of any Romance language, though occasionally it appears in writings imitating older forms, manners, or works. For instance, Antonio Pucci, writing in mid-fourteenth-century Italy, refers to *fino amor* in the last of the nineteen sonnets that comprise his *Corona del messaggio d'amore*;⁴⁶ but in this work Pucci is consciously imitating the dialogues on love found in Andreas Capellanus.

By and large, when *fin'amors* is cited at all, it is used in an overtly qualitative way to define a spiritual ideal of love. So, in Italian poetry of the late thirteenth century, it appears in works of the religious mystic Jacopone da Todi. In his *Laude*, for in-

stance, speaking of the love of Christ, Jacopone calls it "amor grande, dolce, e fino."⁴⁷ In like manner, the term is found in French spiritual writings. The early thirteenth-century *Miserere* of the Recluse of Moiliens links *fine amour* with *carité* and, moreover, refers to the "fine amour / De Dieu."⁴⁸ In the very popular *Chateau d'amour* of Bishop Robert Grosseteste, a work written some time before 1250, Christ's love of man is called *fin amor* and is said to be greater than that of a father for his child.⁴⁹ As an English translation from the early fourteenth century puts it, "Neuer ffader for no childe / Of fyn loue nas so freo ne mylde."⁵⁰ *Freo* (generous) and *mylde* here suggest the qualities associated with the *fyn loue*. Again, in the *Love Ron* of Thomas of Hales, an English religious poem from the late thirteenth century, the term *fin amor* is used as the equivalent to Christian *caritas*. Speaking of Christ as better than all precious stones, Thomas writes, "He is i-don in heouene golde / and is ful of fyn amur."⁵¹ This *fyn amur* that fills Christ, like that seen in Grosseteste's poem, would appear to be opposed to the amorous yearnings ordinarily exhibited by man.

The question that needs to be considered most at this point concerns the relationship between this religious *fin'amors* and that expressed by the various troubadours, *trouvères*, and *trovatori*. The answer is not that *fin'amors* has by the mid-thirteenth century been transformed to something different from what it was one hundred years earlier, but that a term formerly marking "secular" poetry is appearing increasingly in overtly religious writings. As must be made clear, however, *fin'amors* had from the twelfth century been explicitly used as a religious term. *Fin'* appears in thirteenth-century Provençal hymns to the Virgin as part of what would seem to be a set phrase, "Domna, verges pura e fina";⁵² and as early as the French *Vie de Saint Georges* of Simund de Freine, from the late twelfth century, the entire expression is used to describe love of God, specifically the great love shown by a queen who suffers martyrdom. Twice Simund affirms that toward God she had *amur fine*: "vers Deu out amur fine."⁵³ This usage is in accord with that found in the *Roman de Philosophie*,

Simund's verse version of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, when man is told that he will be able to endure hardship if "vers Deu ad amur fine" (1465), a phrase repeating with variation the previous phrase "vers Deu ad amur pure" (1463)⁵⁴ and suggesting that *amur fine* and *amur pure* were, for Simund at least, essentially the same thing.

The explicit identification of *fin'amors* with God may be found in the writings of the early thirteenth-century Provençal poet Daude de Pradas. In his *canço* "Qui finamen sap cossirar" Daude writes that man should trust in *fin'amor*. What *amor* is this? he asks. His answer is, That which encompasses all without end and without beginning. This *amor*, this truth, is God: "Dieus es fin'amors e vertatz."⁵⁵ And, Daude continues, those who love God with such love (*finamen*) will be loved in return by God: "e qui Dieu ama finamen, / finamen es de Dieu amatz" (10-11). Such overtly religious usage may well call to mind the *fin'amors* expressed earlier by Marcabru, especially his presentation of this love as though it were God.

Religious expressions of *fin'amors* continue most dominantly into the fourteenth century. The mystic Ramon Llull, writing at the turn of the century, provides an excellent example of how the phrase continues to be found in lyrical poetry. In one of his Catalan poems, *Medicina de Pecat*, Llull distinguishes between *bona amor* and *mala amor*. In the first part, called "D'Amor," he addresses this *bona amor* and wonders how it has been changed to *mala amor* and brought to *mala mort*.⁵⁶ Good love can bring him to contrition and, through weeping and sorrowing, he can be helped to flee bad love. This part of the poem ends with the narrator's recognition that he will be dead unless he can obtain mercy from good love. The second part, called "De Temor," begins with what seems to be a linking of good love and *fin'amors*. Llull writes that fear of loyal *amor fina* is contrition, medicine and pain that will make the sinner weep:

Temor d'amor fina, lleial,
contricció en vostre hostal
és medicina ee dolor
qui fa plorar li pecador. . . .

(1-4)

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This *temor* will lead to love of God, which here appears to be identified with *amor fina*.

In late fourteenth-century England, in the C-version of *Piers Plowman*, *fin'amors* (here *fyn loue*) is also defined as celestial love. The members of the Trinity are said to "Fostren forth among folke Fyn loue and by-leyue / That alle kynne Crystene clanseth of synne" (XX, 175-176).⁵⁷ This love, associated with right thinking (*by-leyue*), is precisely that which man can learn from understanding the mystery of the Trinity. It is also that which by cleansing man of sin purifies him. The usage here parallels that found earlier in *Piers* when the poet speaks of *fyn hope* (C. XX, 83), indicating further that the term *fyn* exists, even in the late Middle Ages, not merely as part of a set phrase but as a separable qualitative term suggesting perfection and purification. So in German, even though there exists no *feine Liebe* as such, *fein* appears frequently in a spiritual sense, as in the late medieval *Fronleichnamsspiel* from Eger, where the Virgin is referred to as "ain juncfrau fein."⁵⁸ Her being likewise described as "ein juncfrau rein" reaffirms the linking of *fin* and *pure* seen in religious poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁹

With *fin* having such spiritual associations, it may not be surprising to find that *fin'amors* was used in association with marriage, even though scholars such as Moshé Lazar affirm that the opposition between *fin'amors* and *amour conjugal* was, at least for the troubadours (apparently aside from Marcabru), "absolue et irréductible."⁶⁰ Although the validity of this opposition is doubtful even for twelfth-century Provençal poetry,⁶¹ by the fourteenth century the relationship between *fin'amors* and marriage is so commonplace that Geoffrey Chaucer, in describing Alceste, consort of the God of Love, in the Prologue to his *Legend of Good Women*, can say that she functions as a model for all women because she demonstrates *fyn lovyng*e, that is, the role of the proper wife:

calendier is she
Of goodnesse, for she taughte of fyn lovyng,e,
And namely of wifhod the lyvyng,e,
And alle the boundes that she oughte kepe. (G. 533-536)⁶²

This linking of *wifhod* and *fyn lovyng* seems entirely proper, and apparently existed in English literature from as early as the late thirteenth century when in the romance *Arthour and Merlin* Fortiger is described choosing as his wife the daughter of Angys: "Fortiger for loue fin / Hir tok to fere & to wiue" (480-481).⁶³ Moreover, in the eighteen *balades* comprising his *Traitié*, a work devoted, as the full title makes clear, to "les amantz marietz," the fourteenth-century English writer John Gower makes a distinction between the *honest amour* of marriage and the *fol amour* of incontinence⁶⁴ very much like the opposition seen elsewhere between *fin'amors* and *fals'amors*.

It would thus seem that *fin'amors* in the late Middle Ages is properly a term not only describing the best of love but having as its particular province marriage and love of God. As such it may be a reflection of Ciceronian *amicitia*, coming to the Middle Ages via the transformations of John Cassian, Aelred of Rievaulx, and Peter of Blois among others,⁶⁵ and Augustinian spiritual friendship, particularly as expressed by Hugh of Saint Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux, and William of Saint Thierry in the twelfth century.⁶⁶ In this sense *fin'amors* exists as a re-expression of the Great Commandment to love God and man⁶⁷ and the Johannine admonition that it is necessary to love man in order to love God.⁶⁸ At the same time, being a term used in connotative literature, it is without the clear-cut holiness of such an explicitly religious term as *caritas*.

The overt ambivalence of *fin'amors* is strikingly seen in the most significant work on love written in the late Middle Ages, the *Roman de la Rose*, especially in the continuation by Jean de Meun in the late thirteenth century. While the term is used several times to suggest amorous desire and the best of earthly love,⁶⁹ it is also noticeably ironic, as when Reason, defining *amor* as a "maladie de pensee" (4348), criticizes both those who are so enraptured by love that they can think of nothing else and those who pretend to be *fins amanz* (4361) but who really deceive with their feigned passion. Bad as these seducers may be, they are still undeceived and are preferable to those whose vision has been "desordenee" by love (4352). It is similarly ironic when Jean has

the Lover object to Reason's criticism of love, saying that if love were not good, he would never love with *amors fines* (4619) but would live always in hatred and be in mortal sin. The *bone amor* that Reason advocates (5109), in effect "charité nete et pure" (5114), is quite different from the Lover's notion of good love;⁷⁰ and rather than follow Reason's advice to renounce loving *par amors* ("d'amer par amors recroi," 5339) and flee this love as though it were something vile and despicable, he argues that even Tully could never find more than three or four pairs of pure lovers (*fines amors*, 5381) since the world was created. Though intended by the Lover as a criticism of pure love, these words are really, of course, a censure of worldly love. Though infrequently found in the world, *fin'amors* is still the ideal that should reign everywhere.

At the end of the *Roman de la Rose*, when the Lover sets out to pluck the rose, he ironically describes himself as being like a good pilgrim ("comme bons pelerins"), that is, like a pure lover ("comme fins amoureux," 21317-19). The love that properly motivates the pilgrim on his pilgrimage, his journey of penance, should be synonymous with *fin amor*. Such is found, for instance, in the *Nouvelle complainte d'outremer* of Rutebeuf, a contemporary of Jean de Meun, where the author speaks of the "pelerinage fin" on which the sinner goes in order to become "pure et fine."⁷¹ Although Rutebeuf does not use the phrase *fin amor* in his writings, *fin* itself is obviously not only a qualitative term but one properly linked with *pure*. In the *Roman de la Rose*, on the other hand, the pilgrimage is the journey to the consummation of desire (with the pilgrim staff and sack but sexual euphemisms) and is anything but *pure*. *Fin amor* here appears finally perverted by the Lover's illicit desire and unwillingness to be guided by Reason. Our understanding of the irony partially depends on our recognizing the gap between the ideal *fin amor* and the inadequate expression of it in this work.

The *fin amor* referred to in the moral allegories of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, such as the *Dit de la panthère d'amours* of Nicole de Margival,⁷² is most often a continuation of what was found in the *Roman de la Rose*. But at the

same time the term itself is used less and less frequently in the ironic manner of Jean de Meun. In Italian literature of the late thirteenth century *fin'amore* is cited in Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto* (as well as in his *Trésor*)⁷³ and in *Il Fiore*,⁷⁴ both works influenced by the *Roman de la Rose*. And in French literature, though *fin amor* occurs in reference to human desire throughout the narratives of Guillaume de Machaut in the early fourteenth century,⁷⁵ the term is hardly to be found a generation later in the poems of Machaut's followers, Jean Froissart⁷⁶ and Eustache Deschamps. But while it is missing in the hundreds of amorous *balades* by Deschamps,⁷⁷ it appears as a significant term in his overtly religious *balade* "Dictié de Nostre Seigneur," when God tells Christ that He should go, "pour nostre amour fine," and redeem mankind.⁷⁸

This ideal *fin amor* is also expressed by Christine de Pisan in the final lines of her *Dit de Poissy*, written at the turn of the fifteenth century. Here the author prays that God might grant good life and finally paradise to all the *fins amans*, that is, to all those who love properly:

a tous les gentilz
Vrais fins amans loiaulz et non faintis
Que vraye amour tient subgiez et creintis. (2073-75)⁷⁹

Just as the first part of this poem describes a movement from worldly beauties and pleasures to the contemplative life of the convent of Poissy, so the discussion of love moves from a debate about the pleasures and sadnesses of worldly love to the realities of a spiritual love beyond the world and the flesh.⁸⁰

In other relevant writings of the late Middle Ages, such as the *Cent Balades* of Jean le Sénéchal (mid-fourteenth century) and the lyrics, English as well as French, of Charles d'Orleans (early fifteenth century), the term *fin amor* is not to be found at all. It appears only once in the various *chansons*, *balades*, and *rondeaux* of Jehannot de l'Escurel (late fourteenth century).⁸¹ The term does, indeed, appear several times in John Gower's *Cinkante Balades*—a French work written in England in the late fourteenth century—but this courtly composition, really com-

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prised of fifty-four *balades*, moves from earthly love to an invocation to the Virgin, whom the narrator says he serves above all women.⁸² Gower's work concludes with *fin amour* presented not only as *vrai amour* and *bon amour* but also as that love which will not be false (47), which brings health, and which is related both to marriage (49.16–17) and to love of God (49.8–9).⁸³ Such is also the movement of Gower's massive *Mirour de l'Omme* (*Speculum meditantis*), which proceeds from an analysis of sin to repentance and to a celebration of the Virgin and of "l'estat du fin amour" (28968) that is revealed in her response to Christ's Passion.⁸⁴

The love referred to in the early fourteenth-century Spanish *Libro de buen amor* as *amor limpio* or "buen amor que es el de Dios," opposed as it is to "amor loco d'este mundo,"⁸⁵ would seem to be a form of *fin'amors*, but Juan Ruiz does not use this term at all. Nor is *amor fino* found much in medieval Spanish and Portuguese literature—not in the hundreds of lyrics comprising the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas d'amor* and *cantigas d'amigo*, ranging from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century, even though these were directly influenced by Provençal traditions; and apparently it is used only once in the collection of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poems known as the *Cancionero de Baena*, in a poem by the Castilian *trovador* Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino,⁸⁶ likewise in the Provençal tradition. The expression hardly occurs at all in fifteenth-century Spanish poetry, including the works of Juan de Mena, the Marqués de Santillana, and Jorge Manrique. It appears more frequently, however, in fifteenth-century Catalan poetry, for instance in the writings of Jordi de Sant Jordi,⁸⁷ Andreu Febrer (who plays with it—"amor fina, / qui tots mals fina"),⁸⁸ and, especially, Ausiàs March. In one poem March affirms that the man who sins, who is "desordenat," cannot be a *fin amant*.⁸⁹ Elsewhere, however, this poet, who holds as a basic concept the firmness of spiritual love and the fragility of the sensual, states that *fins amadors* feel the contradictions of love and that the *fin amador* must necessarily feel sorrow: "Dolor és gran de tot fin amador."⁹⁰ In such instances *fin amour* would seem to be a pejorative.

The existence of *fin'amors* as a rubric for virtuous activity in general is seen even more in the writings composed annually for the competition sponsored by the consistory of Gai Saber, the society resurrecting older forms and customs at Toulouse from 1324 to 1484. Occasionally the term appears in the prize-winning lyrics as a value that must be preserved and to which the company of the Gai Saber should adhere.⁹¹ As Guilhem Molinier phrased it in 1347, "Le Gays Sabers no's part de la companha / De fin'-Amors, qu'es de vicis estranha."⁹² It is in the same spirit of reaffirming spiritual values that Joan de Castelnou refers to *fin'amors* in his *Sirventés*, written in Provençal-Catalan circa 1340-43:

Tant es lo mons ples d'amor descorteza
e desleyal que ja quax en natura
la veig tornar per l'us mal que trop dura,
si que desxay Fin' Amors, per que'm peza. (1-4)⁹³

[The world is so full of discourteous and disloyal love that I see it changing through the bad customs that have endured too long, and Fin'Amors decays and for that I am sad.]

Beautiful words, he goes on, can no longer help, and the great outrage continues. Thus, in the name of those who affirm *Fin'Amors*, he defies all those who are of the Order of False Lovers:

per nom d'aycels que Fin' Amors enança,
desfizi tots quants son de l'Hordenança
dels Fals Aymans. (8-10)

For this reason, he says, he calls all those who loyally serve the lord of Love to fight the false lovers in a tournament, specifically to defy those who do not wish to serve truth and right in courtly love:

E per ayço tutg cill qu'am leyaleza
em d'Amor serf, ab aquesta scriptura,
ajornam cels que vertat ni drextura
servar no'ls platz envas Amor corteza. (11-14)

The fight will be on 1 November, the day of the Feast of the Martyrs, and it will be to the death.

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What follows is a lengthy listing of all the champions of *fin'amors* who will be in the tournament, for instance, the king of the Castilians because he serves *Amor pura* (22), and the king of Majorca because true love ("veraya Amors," 25-26) nourishes him. What is said of the valiant count of Terranova—all the time he works for Fin'Amor against the recreants ("Fin' Amor contra la gen recreza," 93-94)—may be said to define the narrator's prospective allies. He realizes that the fight will be a hard one, and he has no doubts that many thousand false lovers will be opposed to each champion of *fin'amors*. Still he is optimistic that the true lovers will prevail because of the evil doing of the false lovers. He looks forward to slaughtering his enemies and hopes to convince them of their errors and make them render homage to the faithful servants of love (111-120).

The conflict elegantly fabricated in this poem is precisely that found throughout Marcabru's work, where it was also *fin'amors* versus *falss'amors* ("Falss' Amor encontra fina"). In the two hundred years between him and Joan de Castelnou, between, on the one hand, the first extant use of the term *fin'amors* and the new poetry incorporating it and, on the other hand, the resurrection of the old forms and values in the Gai Saber, nothing apparently has changed. *Fin'amors* is still the ideal and still not much to be found in the world or in the lyrics and romances that depict and discuss love. What passes as *amors* in most late medieval literature is far from the ideal *fin'amors* and could hardly be confused with this ideal, which is explicitly a spiritual love, otherwise finding expression in the sacrament of marriage and in Christian *caritas*.

Notes

1. See esp. Robertson, "Some Medieval Doctrines of Love," *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton, 1962), pp. 391-503; "The Concept of Courtly Love as an Impediment to the Understanding of Medieval Texts," *The Meaning of Courtly Love*, ed. F. X. Newman (Albany, 1968), pp. 1-18; Donaldson, "The Myth of Courtly Love," *Ventures*, 5, no. 2 (1965), 16-23; repr. *Speaking of Chaucer* (New York, 1970), pp. 154-163.
2. Paris, "Etudes sur les romans de la Table Ronde. Lancelot du Lac, II, *Le Conte de la Charrette*," *Romania*, 12 (1883), 459-534.
3. Benton, esp. "The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center," *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 551-591; "Clio and Venus: An Historical View of Medieval Love," *Meaning*, ed. Newman, pp. 19-42.
4. Frappier, "Sur un procès fait à l'amour courtois," *Romania*, 93 (1972), 145-193; Utley, "Must We Abandon the Concept of Courtly Love?" *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 3 (1972), 299-324.
5. Peire d'Alvernhe, "Gent es, mentr'om n'a lezer," 1. 58, in *Peire d'Alvernha, Liriche*, ed. Alberto Del Monte, Collezione di "Filologia Romanza," 1 (Turin, 1955), p. 103; Bernart Marti, "Bel m'es lai latz la fontana," 1. 15, in *Les Poésies de Bernart Marti*, ed. Ernest Hoepffner, *Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, 61 (Paris, 1929), p. 9.
6. Kellermann, "L'éclosion du lyrisme occidental: l'amour-vénération," *Entretiens sur la renaissance du 12e siècle*, ed. Maurice de Gandillac and Edouard Jauneau (Paris and The Hague, 1968), p. 380.
7. Lazar, *Amour courtois et "fin'amors" dans la littérature du XIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque Française et Romane, Études Littéraires, 8 (Paris, 1964).
8. Wechsler, *Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs* (Halle, 1909), 2 vols.; Brinkmann, "Anfänge lateinischer Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter," *Neophilologus*, 9 (1924), 49-60, 203-221; Scheludko, esp. "Religiose Elemente im weltlichen Liebeslied der Trobadors," *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, 59 (1935), 402-421; 60 (1936), 18-35.
9. Camproux, *Le joy d'amor des troubadours (Jeu et joie d'amour)* (Montpellier, 1965).
10. Pollmann, *Die Liebe in der hochmittelalterlichen Literatur Frankreichs. Versuch einer historischen Phänomenologie*, *Analecta Romanica*, 18 (Frankfurt, 1966).
11. See Dmitri Scheludko, "Über die Theorien der Liebe bei den Trobadors," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 60 (1940), 191-234; Moshé Lazar, "Les éléments constitutifs de la 'cortezia' dans la lyrique des troubadours," *Studi Medio-latini e Volgari*, 6-7 (1959), 67-96.
12. Camproux, p. 133.
13. Denomy, "Fin'Amors: The Pure Love of the Troubadours. Its Amorality and Possible Source," *Mediaeval Studies*, 7 (1945), 139-207; Imbs, "De la fin'amor," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 12 (1969), 265-285. See also Ivos Margoni, *Fin'amors, meura e cortezia: Saggio sulla lirica provenzale del XII secolo* (Milan, 1965), and Franca Di Ninni, "La 'fin'amors' e l'ideologia dei trovatori," *Studi di Letteratura Francese*, 105 (1969), 260-267.
14. See esp. *Entretiens sur la renaissance du 12e siècle*, ed. Gandillac and Jauneau (1968); and *The Meaning of Courtly Love*, ed. Newman (1968).
15. Three recent books that tend to reaffirm the seriousness of courtly love are *Patterns of Love and Courtesy: Essays in Memory of C. S. Lewis*, ed. John Lawlor (London and Evanston, 1966); *In Pursuit of Perfection: Courtly Love in Medieval*

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Literature, ed. Joan M. Ferrante and George D. Economou (New York, 1975); and Henry A. Kelly, *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer* (Ithaca, 1975).

16. For such views, see, e.g., F. M. Warren, "The Troubadour Canso and Latin Lyric Poetry," *Modern Philology*, 9 (1911-12), 469-487; Philipp A. Becker, "Vom christlichen Hymnus zum Minnesang," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, 52 (1932), 1-39, 145-177; Antonio Viscardi, "La tradizione aulica e scolastica e la poesia trobadorica," *Studi Medievali*, 7 (1934), 151-164; Reto R. Bezola, "Guillaume IX et les origines de l'amour courtois," *Romania*, 66 (1940-41), 145-237; and Guido Errante, "Old Provençal Lyric Poetry: Latin and Arabic Influences," *Thought*, 20 (1945), 305-330. See also the useful survey of views in *Nouvelle anthologie de la lyrique occitane du moyen âge: Initiation à la langue et à la poésie des troubadours*, ed. Pierre Bec (Avignon, 1970), pp. 35-60.

17. Valency, *In Praise of Love: An Introduction to the Love-Poetry of the Renaissance* (New York, 1958), p. 142; Wilhelm, *The Cruellest Month: Spring, Nature, and Love in the Classical and Medieval Lyrics* (New Haven and London, 1965), pp. 183-184.

18. I am applying here the view of *fin* stated by Frede Jensen, *From Vulgar Latin to Old Provençal*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 120 (Chapel Hill, 1972), pp. 111-112; cf. Wilhelm, p. 184.

19. Along with not being listed in the standard Latin glosses, such as the *Thesaurus linguae latinae* and the *Du Cange Glossarum mediae et infimae aetatis*, the terms are not included in Richard Reitzenstein, "Zur Sprache der lateinischen Erotik," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 3 (1912), pt. 12.

20. Although the term does not appear in Ovid or Andreas Capellanus, it is frequently found in thirteenth-century French arts of love modeled on these writers' works, especially in the *Art d'amours* attributed to Jaques d'Amiens and in the anonymous *Clef d'amors*. See *Artes amandi: Da Maître Elie ad Andrea Cappellano*, ed. A. M. Finoli (Milan, 1969), pp. 33 ff., 125 ff. In the discussion following his paper, "L'amour spirituel face à l'amour courtois," Robert Javelet responds to a question concerning whether the adjective *finus* ever appears in medieval spiritual writings, saying he does not believe so (*Entretiens sur la renaissance du 12^e siècle*, p. 340).

21. See, e.g., the chapter on "Marcabru and Fin'Amors" in L. T. Topsfield's *Troubadours and Love* (Cambridge and New York, 1975), pp. 70-107. For Cercamon's use of the term, see his "Puois nostre temps comens' a brunezir," l. 18, and "Per fin'Amor m'esjauzira," in *Les poésies de Cercamon*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy, *Classiques Français du Moyen Âge*, 27 (Paris, 1922), pp. 15, 26.

22. Belperron, *La joie d'amour: Contribution à l'étude des troubadours et de l'amour courtois* (Paris, 1948), p. 103.

23. Appel, "Zu Marcabru," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 43 (1923), 403-469; Scheludko, esp. "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altprovenzalischen Lyrik," *Archivum Romanicum*, 15 (1931), 178-191; and *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 60 (1940), 198-206; Robertson, "Five Poems by Marcabru," *Studies in Philology*, 51 (1954), 539-560; Errante, *Marcabru e le fonti sacre dell'antica lirica romanza* (Florence, 1948).

24. No. 5 in *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru*, ed. J.-M.-L. Dejeanne, *Bibliothèque Méridionale*, ser. 1, vol. 12 (Toulouse, 1909). All quotations from Marcabru are according to this edition and its numbering.

25. In line 64, "bon'Amor" has as a variant "bon amor fina," and another variant in line 69 identifies "bon'amor" as "fin amor" (ed. Dejeanne, pp. 148-149).

26. See esp. the uses of *fin'amors* by Bernart, as in "Lancan lo douz temps

s'esclaire," ll. 21, 29, including a reference to Marcabru's handlings of false lovers (ed. Hoepffner, p. 31).

27. Perhaps most notably Guiraut Riquier, who in the late thirteenth century uses *fin'amors* much as Marcabru does. See, e.g., nos. 9, 17, 20, 21, 25, and 26 in *Guiraut Riquier, Las Cansos*, ed. Ulrich Mölk, *Studia Romanica*, 2 (Heidelberg, 1962). See also the discussion of Marcabru's influence in Scheludko, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 60 (1940), 231-234.

28 See, e.g., "Amar dei," ll. 46-49, where it is associated with that which is "fin'e pura" (ed. Hoepffner, p. 3).

29. See esp. Jaufre's "Lanquan li jorn son lonc en may," in *Les Chansons de Jaufre Rudel*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy, 2nd ed. *Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, 15 (Paris, 1965), p. 12; on the meaning of the term see Robertson, "Amors de terra lonhdana," *Studies in Philology*, 49 (1952), 566-582.

30. Topsisfield, "Jois, Amors, and Fin' Amors in the Poetry of Jaufre Rudel," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 71 (1970), 305; repr. *Troubadours and Love*, p. 69.

31. See the comment of Denomy, *Mediaeval Studies*, 7 (1945), 164.

32. Topsisfield, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 71 (1970), 277; repr. *Troubadours and Love*, p. 44.

33. Imbs, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 12 (1969), 278. Imbs also thinks the term *fin'amor* was borrowed directly from Bernart.

34. Lazar, *Amour courtois*, p. 53.

35. *Bernart von Ventadorn: Seine Lieder*, ed. Carl Appel (Halle, 1915). All quotations from Bernart are according to this edition and its numbering.

36. See the first stanza, where he speaks of feeling a wind from paradise, through love of the noble one to whom he is devoted and to whom he pledges his will and his heart (37.3-8).

37. For a fuller statement of this kind of parody, see Edmund Reiss, "Chaucer's Parodies of Love," *Chaucer the Love Poet*, ed. Jerome Mitchell and William Provest (Athens, Ga., 1973), esp. pp. 27-30.

38. See esp. Gace Brulé, nos. 4, 7, 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 23, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 40, 41, 46, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, in *Chansons de Gace Brulé*, ed. Gédéon Huet, *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 45 (Paris, 1902).

39. Line 2722, in Bérout, *Le Roman de Tristan*, ed. Ernest Muret, 4th ed. rev. by L. N. Defourques, *Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, 12 (Paris, 1972).

40. *Les Lais de Marie de France*, ed. Jean Rychner, *Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, 93 (Paris, 1971).

41. *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, III: *Le Chevalier de la charrete*, ed. Mario Roques, *Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, 86 (Paris, 1972); ed. W. Foerster, ll. 3946-47.

42. Line 6007, in Roques, II; Foerster, I, 5980.

43. See *Le Rime della scuola siciliana*, ed. Bruno Panvini, *Biblioteca dell' "Archivum Romanicum"*, ser. 1, vol. 65 (Florence, 1962), vol. I. E.g., Rinaldo, pp. 95, 100-101, 113; Pier, p. 128; Giacomino, pp. 184, 187, 195; see also, e.g., Rugeri Apugliese, pp. 200-201; Neri de' Visdomini, pp. 243, 245, 248; and Carnino Ghiberti, p. 266.

44. See, e.g., "Madonna, il fino amor ched eo vo porto" (perhaps not by Guido), and "Lo fin pregi' avanzato," l. 6, in *Poeti del dolce stil nuovo*, ed. Mario Marti (Florence, 1969), pp. 45, 63; in the latter poem Guido refers to "l fin amor ch'è puro" (l. 28, ed. Marti, p. 65).

45. No. 100, in *Poeti*, ed. Marti, p. 655.

46. Line 16, in *Rimatori del trecento*, ed. Giuseppe Corsi, *Classici Italiani* (Turin, 1969), p. 840.

47. Jacopone, no. 86, "Como l'anima dimanda perdonanza de l'offensione e

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- gusto d'amore," ll. 10-11, in *Le Laude*, ed. Luigi Fallacara (Florence, 1955), p. 290.
48. St. 122, l. 11; st. 187, ll. 8-9, in *Le Romans de Carité et Miserere du Renclus de Moiliens*, ed. A.-G. van Hamel, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 62 (Paris, 1885), II, 199, 235.
49. Line 1377, in *Robert Grossetete's Chateau d'amour*, ed. M. Cooke, Caxton Society, 15 (1852; repr. New York, 1967), p. 48; see also the Harleian version, l. 1370 (ed. Cooke, p. 185).
50. Lines 1399-1400, in *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, I, ed. Carl Horstmann, Early English Text Society, Orig. Ser. 98 (London, 1892), p. 390; see also variants, p. 402.
51. Line 182, in *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1932), p. 73.
52. See Diego Zorzi, *Valori religiosi nella letteratura provenzale: La spiritualità trinitaria*, Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del S. Cuore, n.s. 44 (Milan, 1954), pp. 197-198; see, e.g., Peire de Corbiac, "Domna, dels angels regina," in *Chrestomathie Provençale*, ed. Karl Bartsch, 6th ed., rev. E. Koschwitz (Marburg, 1904), col. 233, l. 15.
53. Lines 1323, 1366, in *Les Oeuvres de Simund de Freine*, ed. John E. Matzke, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 58 (Paris, 1909), pp. 104, 106.
54. *Simund de Freine*, ed. Matzke, p. 53.
55. Line 9, in *Poésies du troubadour Daude de Pradas*, ed. A. H. Schutz, Bibliothèque Méridionale, ser. 1, vol. 22 (Toulouse and Paris, 1933), p. 62; for other instances of Daude's use of the term, see Schutz, nos. 3, 5.
56. Llull, "D'Amor," ll. 1-3, in *Poesies*, ed. Ramon d'Alòs-Moner, 2nd ed., Els Nostres Clàssics, 3 (Barcelona, 1928), p. 42.
57. *Piers the Plowman*, ed. W. W. Skeat (London, 1886), I, 511; in the B-version "fyn loue" is termed only "loue" (B. XVII, 209).
58. Line 1742, *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel*, ed. Gustav Milchsack, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 156 (Tübingen, 1881).
59. See lines 1728, 1823.
60. Lazar, *Amour courtois*, p. 60.
61. See the recent study of the compatibility of love and marriage in antiquity and the Middle Ages by Henry A. Kelly, *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer*; for the twelfth century see esp. pp. 31-48.
62. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1957), p. 495; cf. the parallel passage in F 542-546. See the discussion of this passage in Edmund Reiss, "Chaucer's *fyn lovyng* and the Late Medieval Sense of *fin amor*," *Medieval Studies in Honor of Lillian Herlands Hornstein*, ed. Jess B. Bessinger, Jr., and Robert R. Raymo (New York, 1976), pp. 181-191.
63. *Arthour and Merlin*, ed. Eugen Kölbing, Altenglische Bibliothek, 4 (Leipzig, 1890). The *fin amor* equivalent is lacking in the source, the Vulgate *Estoire de Merlin*.
64. See *Traitié*, IV.15; IX.12, in *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay (Oxford, 1899), I, 382-385.
65. Cicero, *De amicitia*; Cassian, *Liber de amicitia*; Aelred, *De spirituali amicitia*; Peter, *De amicitia christiana*.
66. Augustine, esp. *Sermo* 349; Hugh, *De laude caritatis*; Bernard, *De diligendo Deo*; William, *De natura et dignitate amoris*.
67. See Matthew 22:37-39; also Deuteronomy 6:5; and Leviticus 19:18.
68. See I John 4:21; cf. 2:9.
69. See, e.g., ll. 8391, 10290, 12499, 13655, as well as ll. 878, 2227, and 2536 of Guillaume de Lorris's version; in *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy, Classiques Français du Moyen Age, 92, 95, 98 (Paris, 1965, 1966, 1970).

70. See also l. 5459.
71. Lines 60–62, in *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin (Paris, 1959), I, 499.
72. See lines 879, 1152, 1583, 1750; ed. Henry A. Todd (Paris, 1883).
73. Lines 2302, 2427, in *Poemeti del duecento*, ed. Giuseppe Petronio, *Classici Italiani* (Turin, 1951), pp. 148 ff.
74. XLIX.7.14, in *Poemeti*, ed. Petronio, p. 222; see also *L'Intelligenza*, 3.7; 14.5; 57.9; 75.5, in *ibid.*, pp. 386 ff.
75. See, e.g., *Le dit dou Vergier*, ll. 886, 908; *Le lay de Plour*, ll. 25, 60; *Le remède de Fortune*, ll. 1717, 4109; *Le dit dou Lyon*, ll. 1165, 1172, 1185, 1188, 1698, 1721, 1778; in *Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. Ernest Hoepffner, *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 57 (Paris, 1908, 1911, 1921).
76. The most frequent use of the term by Froissart is in *Méliador*, ll. 8944, 30173; ed. Auguste Longnon, *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 36 (Paris, 1895, 1899).
77. I have found it only in 436.5 and in 624.6; in *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud, *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 10 (Paris, 1880–94), III, 308; IV, 83. Deschamps's favorite term for love is *vray amour*.
78. Line 727, in *Oeuvres*, VII, 142. Deschamps plays with the term: "Val' et si monde,' / A son filz pour nostre amour fine, / 'Ce pechié, et ceste morte fine,' / Et pour ceste amour qui fin n'a / De no redempcion fina" (26 ff.).
79. *Oeuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, ed. Maurice Roy, *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 23 (Paris, 1886, 1891), II, 222.
80. The term *fin amor* in reference to earthly love is not used much by Christine. See *Dit de Poissy*, l. 1148; also *Ballades*, IX.25; *Complaintes amoureuses*, I.20; *Dit de la rose*, l. 138; *Debat des deux amans*, ll. 1048, 1182, 1268. As with Deschamps her preferred term is *vraye amour*.
81. Jehannot speaks of "fine amourette" (XII.5) in *Chansons, ballades et rondeaux*, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris, 1855), p. 26.
82. LI, in *Complete Works*, ed. Macaulay, I, 377.
83. See the earlier uses of *fin amour* in these *balades*: VII.1; XXI.5; XXIV.6; XXXVII.2.
84. *Complete Works*, ed. Macaulay, I, 322.
85. See, e.g., the sermon on Psalm 31 (Vulgate) following st. 10; also st. 904; in *Libro de buen amor*, ed. and trans. Raymond S. Willis (Princeton, 1972), pp. 7, 241.
86. See *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, ed. José María Azáceta, *Clásicos Hispánicos*, ser. 2, vol. 10 (Madrid, 1966), I, 30.
87. E.g., "Dompna, tot jorn vos vau preyan," l. 4, in *Jordi de Sant Jordi*, ed. Martín de Riquer, *Collección Filológica*, 15 (Granada, 1955), 115; see also his use of "fin'amistança" in *Passio amoris secundum Ovidiam*, l. 64 (p. 198).
88. "Ators, qui tost fér, quant li play," ll. 218–219; in Andreu Febrer, *Poesies*, ed. Martí de Riquer, *Els Nostres Clàssics*, 68 (Barcelona, 1951), 115.
89. "Sí com rictat no porta béns ab si," ll. 9–12; in Ausiàs March, *Poesies*, ed. Pere Bohigas, *Els Nostres Clàssics*, 72 (Barcelona, 1952), II, 26.
90. "Los ignorants Amor e sos exemples," l. 13 (ed. Bohigas, II, 151) and "¿Qui'm tornarà lo temps de ma dolor?" l. 17 (ed. Bohigas, *Els Nostres Clàssics*, 73 [1954], III, 62). See also March's fullest treatment of love in "Tot entenent amador mi entengua" (III, 136 ff.).
91. See, e.g., Peyre de Monlasur, winner in 1373, VIII.2, 19, 28, 32, 35; and Peyre de Vilamur, winner in 1465, LVI.15; in *Les Joies du Gai Savoir*, ed. Alfred

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Jeanroy, Bibliothèque Méridionale, ser. 1, vol. 16 (Toulouse, 1914), pp. 29-31, 248.

92. *Las Leys d'amors*, ed. Joseph Anglade, Bibliothèque Méridionale, ser. 1, vol. 17 (Toulouse, 1919), p. 34.

93. *Sirventés*, in *La "Vesio" de Bernart de So . . .*, ed. Amédée Pagès, Bibliothèque Méridionale, ser. 1, vol. 25 (Toulouse and Paris, 1945), p. 129.

IV

Renaissance Aborted and Renascences: Scève's Délie

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Love poetry lends itself to at least three levels of interpretation. On a literal plane it is the recounting of a relationship, usually unsuccessful, with one or more individuals. On this plane, where the beloved can be a fiction or a person determined by biographical data or even both, the poet typically postulates an authentic presence as well as an illusion. Since to concentrate only on the biographical data could impoverish the poetry, the poet recreates events, real or imagined, from the experiential or the psychological world. During this process he looks at himself and thus provides the opportunity for a second level of interpretation. The poet looks at himself as the lover (frustrated, tortured), and simultaneously he also observes himself in the act of writing and describes *that* experience. Love poetry, then, like any other form of literary creation, is a possible means to formulate an *ars poetica*. Moreover, as the poet observes himself, he gains a knowledge of himself via the catalytic effect of the object of his love. Such self-consciousness in turn leads to an increased knowledge of the outside world, with the result that a reciprocity is achieved between ontology and epistemology. This awakening to knowledge constitutes a third function of love poetry, which makes possible the present critical reading of Maurice Scève's *Délie*.

Love poetry of the Middle Ages, it could be argued, posits a finite concept of knowledge, whereas love poetry of the Renaissance reflects a broader participation in the universe and hence a broader epistemology. In the *scuola siciliana*, in poems of the *dolce stil nuovo*, and in medieval courtly love in general, the poet, man, wishes to participate in God's perfection and omniscience

through woman, who mirrors and incarnates these supreme virtues. However, the distinction between erotic desire and striving for self-knowledge or knowledge in general is not always clear in that literary tradition—and, of course, self-realization and eroticism need not be mutually exclusive.¹ In this medieval framework the poet remains subservient and may achieve only partial success since he cannot hope to emulate God. His hope is thwarted by his human limitations. On the other hand, a Renaissance credo of man's limitless potential is formulated in Pico's *Oratio de hominis dignitate* (1486). Here self-realization depends on an individual's will, over which he has complete control, and he can gather data to his heart's content from the universe about him:

We have given you, Adam, no definite place, no form proper only to you, no special inheritance, so that you may have as your own whatever place, whatever form, whatever gifts you may choose, according to your wish and your judgment. All other beings have received a rigidly determined nature, and will be compelled by us to follow strictly determined laws. You alone are bound by no limit, unless it be one prescribed by your will, which I have given you. I have placed you at the centre of the world, so that you may more easily look around you and see everything that is in it. I created you as a being neither heavenly nor earthly, neither mortal nor immortal, so that you may freely make and master yourself, and take on any form you choose for yourself.²

In the next century, Rabelais, in the letter that Gargantua writes to his son Pantagruel, will echo the same notion of an all-embracing knowledge available at man's beck and call, and therefore the father will conclusively declare, "Somme, que je voy un abysme de science."³ But do such manifestoes represent realizable human goals, or are they merely idealized visions of man? Or, put another way, if such aspirations appear within the realm of accessible realities at one given point in time, have they become mere utopian dreams at a later date? As a matter of fact, disillusion from high expectations can occur within a few years in the works of a given author. What was once a blessing can become a curse.

Since most love poetry is about unrequited love, it lends itself to interpretations of frustration, fright, anxiety, alienation, failure, and renewed hope. These psychological reactions, which have a firm basis in the poet's ontological self-analysis, are easily transferred in a figurative sense to an epistemological plane. Consequently the existential fiber of Scève's *Délie* is at the same time brittle and resilient. Contrary to Petrarch, for example, in whose shadow all Renaissance poets contort themselves, Scève does not alternate from one state to another but embodies both simultaneously, creating a taut and vibrating state of suspension, hence a pulsating consciousness. This reverberating lateral immobility is counterpointed by an oscillating vertical movement which is constituted of the dashing of hope, the defeat of enthusiasm. Compulsive and momentary ascent leads to inevitable fall. Scève's search for knowledge and his attitude toward knowledge will follow the same dynamics.

Much Renaissance literature has a pictorial quality. It tends toward the emblematic in order to visualize otherworldliness.⁴ Hence the image-symbol acquires a dominant role. And in keeping with this emphasis on visual evocation, the most frequently used substantive in *Délie* is *eye* or *eyes* (110 times). Of course, such emphasis belongs to the tradition of love poetry, for the eye is the seed of love, the mirror of the soul and of God and hence of the world. It is the sign of acceptance or rejection, of possession or evasion, and it is also the sun, Apollo, the source of energy, light, knowledge. But one also sees with the eye, and to see is to understand and to seek to know. Since the beloved is the incarnation of perfection, of God, the reflection and configuration of knowledge, the lover strives for a meeting of the eyes that would mean some measure of success, of comprehension, and would suffuse him throughout her. Since the latter idea is obviously not without erotic connotations, it is naive to view this poetry only in terms of a spiritual or idealized love:

Comme gelée au monter du Soleil
Mon ame sens, qui toute se distille
Au rencontrer le rayant de son oeil,
Dont le pouvoir me rend si fort debile,

Renaissance Aborted and Renascences

Que ie devien tous les iours moins habile
A resister aux amoureux traictz d'elle.

En la voyant ainsi plaisamment belle,
Et le plaisir croissant de bien en mieulx
Par une ioye incongneue, & nouvelle,
Que ne suis donc plus, qu'Argus, tout en yeulx? (290)⁵

To become a hundred eyes, like Argus, or, better, an all-pervasive, incarnated eye is the poet's ideal so that he may conquer once and for all this maleficent attraction, the desire to know. However, if there is a meeting of the eyes, a momentary acquiescence on the part of the beloved and thus some measure of success on the lover's part, the result is blinding. In practical terms man is not able to cope with the full impact of knowledge; there has to be a filtering process, a critical stance, which assures reasonable assimilation and self-consciousness:

Combien qu'a nous soit cause le Soleil
Que toute chose est tresclerement veue:
Ce neantmoins pour trop arrester l'oeil
En sa splendeur lon pert soubdain la veue. (443)

Dante, too, is blinded when he first sees Beatrice at the end of his Purgatory journey because he has not yet reached the beatific state that would allow him to face her; this situation no longer exists when he reaches Paradise. But Scève deals with a secular experience. Délie puts him out of his mind, out of his senses, so he wants to regain his balance, his intellectual faculties, to cope with her. These two protagonists are cast in adversary positions. In contrast, Dante's ascension will continue and meet with success, and the suffusion will take place because Beatrice, God, and knowledge are one and the same. A benevolent theology resolves all. Délie, on the other hand, is an idol, an image, a figment of Scève's own imagination, a mirror of the existential distress with which he battles.

Does he vanquish it? Although Scève's world is one of turmoil, it is not devoid of hope, no matter how futile this hope turns out to be. Expectation alternates with defeat or failure. Dawn expresses a rising, positive feeling and implies a cyclical

process (night has preceded) as well as a quest element present in the duration of the forthcoming day.⁶ Here a drawn-out periphrasis, taking up half a poem, delineates a slow awakening:

L'Aube estaingnoit Estoilles a foison,
Tirant le iour des regions infimes,
Quand Apollo montant sur l'Orison
Des montz cornuz doroit les haultes cymes.
Lors du profond des tenebreux Abysmes,
Ou mon penser par ses fascheux ennuyz
Me fait souvent perçer les longues nuitz,
Ie reuoquay a moy l'ame ravie:
Qui, dessechant mes larmoyantz conduictz,
Me fait cler veoir le Soleil de ma vie. (79)

In this instance the poet may succeed, but the result remains ephemeral since another experience, another state of mind, the next poem, will negate it. A *dizain* is the product of the moment, hence, in retrospect, the record of an illusion. The object of the quest exists only as an interiorized condition ("Ie reuoquay a moy l'ame ravie") and not as a concrete reality. It is a wilful recall conditioned by a psychic energy rather than by a rational configuration. For the moment the seemingly grasped ideal overcomes the elusive tangible; the hope for knowledge appears temporarily within reach. But the inevitable fall back to the pervasive human situation ensues:

Tout desir est dessus espoir fondé:
Mon esperance est, certes, l'impossible
En mon concept si fermement sondé,
Qu'a peine suis ie en mon travail passible. (234)

The poet's condition takes the form of a downward spiral during which he is unable to halt his fall, to seize upon a steadying force.⁷ He is the distressed prey of insecurities and anxiety:

Tout temps ie tumbe entre espoir, & desir:
Tousiours ie suis meslé de doubte, & craincte:
Tous lieux me sont ennuy, & desplaisir. . . . (265)

He is inexorably drawn to what rejects him, and a reciprocal failure to communicate creates an abyss between the signified

(the beloved as potential knowledge incarnate) and the signifier (the poet or word incarnate). One result of this failure is that the poet finds himself tossed on the topological stormy sea of his consciousness, the realization of the impossibility of reaching what he is striving for, until he can again crest momentarily. Following a Renaissance pattern, the image of the seastorm in Scève becomes doubt's boundless sea, and topographically the haven is not located laterally but vertically. Reaching it means, of course, that the poet has not only transcended the age-old theological plane of this metaphor, but he has personalized it to a metaphysical level, that is, to reflect, like Donne, "philosophical pessimism . . . centred in this particular case on the problem of knowledge."⁸ To this meaning Scève adds the impossibility, momentary at least, of self-knowledge:

Comme corps mort vagant en haulte Mer,
Esbat des Ventz, & pasetemps des Undes,
I'errois flottant parmy ce Gouffre amer,
Ou mes soucys enflent vagues profondes.

Lors toy, Espoir, qui en ce point te fondes
Sur le confus de mes vaines merueilles,
Soubdain au nom d'elle tu me resueilles
De cest abysme, auquel ie perissoys:
Et a ce son me cornantz les oreilles,
Tout estourdy point ne me congnoissoys.

(164)

The would-be fact, the object of love or attainment, is nothing but a self-generated echo by the poet and not a tangible substance. Even if this blurred phenomenon sends him out of his senses, the possession of such a self-created form remains empty because its essence keeps on eluding him. The intellect, imperfect in itself, preserves only a kind of outline, an analogue, of the true configuration of the impression. Real possession of knowledge occurs when man and nature are fully integrated; here nature exists merely as a reflecting agent of the poet's situation. A decade or so later, the early Ronsard's poetry illustrates a complete integration of poet and nature, hence a full harmony of man and nature, but in Scève nature functions simply as a psychological landscape. Subject and object are never united. Therefore, the

Promethean dream of reaching for the divine flames remains an illusion, and knowledge to the degree that it can be grasped is phenomenological, only an exterior form (one thinks of Mallarmé's satyr, who gathers vacuously inflated grape skins).

No wonder, then, that restlessness punctuates the poet's existence. The divorce of man and universe produces a sense of failure and frustration. If remembering leads to harsh spiritual travail, the solution may lie in forgetting, in seeking repose, but the very place of rest, the bed, paradoxically rekindles turmoil. Ataraxy is quickly forsaken (is it more than an ideal?) lest it become a sterile idleness:

L'oisiveté des délicates plumes,
Lict coutumier, non point de mon repos,
Mais du trauail, ou mon feu tu allumes,
Souuentesfois, oultre heure, & sans propos
Entre ses drapz me detient indispos,
Tant elle m'à pour son foible ennemy. (100)

In addition to its sexual connotation, fire here means inspiration tempered with hard labor,⁹ and it implies as well man's Promethean urge, which in Scève's case ends up being little more successful than the labors of Sisyphus. One of the ideals of Renaissance man is to liberate himself from human limitations, to become omniscient, and his curse or rather his self-conscious purpose is to live with the realization of both his desire and its ultimate failure in absolute terms.

Melancholy and ennui are the net results of this failure. They do not function in the context of, for example, a medieval *acedia*. There is no feeling of guilt or sin associated with an attempt to go beyond oneself or to have forbidden or original thoughts, as sometimes may be the case with Petrarch, who suffered extensively from this spiritual malady and who also began therefore to experience a rupture with his times.¹⁰ If Petrarch tolerates it, Scève shows a rebellious spirit toward it; he holds a grudge against it because it is a living hell that precludes the possibility of happiness:

Renaissance Aborted and Renascences

Plongé au Stix de la melancolie
Semblois l'auteur de ce marrissement,
Que la tristesse autour de mon col lye
Par l'estonné de l'esbaysement,
Colere ayant pour son nourrissement,
Colere aduste, ennemye au ioyeux. (369)

Any attempt to extricate himself from this morass is self-defeating, and his error is to persist in such an impossible task. Attracted to a repellent, he is fixed in a state of doubt and self-doubt as the inner gnawing, ennui, ensues:

Ie me ruyne au penser ennuyé
Du pensement proscript de ma lyesse. (370)

Couuert d'ennuy ie me vultre en l'Ortie. . . . (161)

Pain has become the only form of pleasure through which self-knowledge may be realized.¹¹

Love poetry often is a poetry of absence, the absence of the beloved. And paradoxically, sometimes, the presence of this absence may assume some of the qualities of a consciousness.¹² In the *Délie* such an absent presence is metaphorically the serpent, either a transfixing reptile or a gnawing one. Ethically it does not convey any biblical meaning of sin or guilt, although it evokes a Middle Eastern setting so that such an association is plausible.

Tu m'es le Cedre encontre le venin
De ce Serpent en moy continuel . . .
Dont spire (ô Dieux) trop plus suaue alaine,
Que n'est Zephire en l'Arabie heureuse. (372)

This delectable inner gnawing marks the awareness of a destructive and at the same time rejuvenating knowledge, a necessary and inescapable evil, a living death, a beautiful perversion.¹³

Although still placed in a suggestive primordial setting, the image of the serpent transcends its original contextual meaning and acquires the sense of a special sort of agony—the realization that one knows that he cannot know all and his eventual depen-

dence on, and even submission to, that limiting situation. Experience has not produced this truncated condition; that is, the poet does not become aware of it in the course of writing. He has already reached it in the very first *dizain*. Hence the reptile infiltration permeates the whole of *Délie*, and its meaning, aside from its erotic connotation, attests to the secularization of the metaphor:

Voicy (ô paour d'agreables terreurs)
 Mon Basilisque avec sa poignant' veue
 Perçant Corps, Coeur, & Raison despouruee,
 Vint penetrer en l'Ame de mon Ame. (1)

The basilisk, that legendary reptile whose eye has a killing power, expresses a *prise de conscience*—the death of a naive search for an all-encompassing knowledge and the beginning of a painful reassessment of human limitations, from exteriorization to interiorization, the fusion of object and subject. The multiplicity of the outside world finds its analogue in the recesses of the poet's mind, which tries to cope with the conflicting moods elicited by partial failure.

The notion of limited or nullified success occurs even in the emblems of the *Délie*. On seven occasions it is symbolized by the cut-off trunk of a tree which has one or more live, leafing branches (emblems I, VII, X, XIX, XX, XXIV, XXVI).¹⁴ Since this image occurs only in the first half of the fifty emblems, it would be tempting to adduce a condition more prevalent in the first half of the *Délie* than in the second, but no such conjecture is borne out by the content of the *dizains* in the second half of the *Délie*. In the Renaissance, a truncated tree and its green offshoots are the symbol of an ideal inspired by wisdom and will and known as *virtù*. A totally green, healthy tree represents the tree of life, whereas a dead one is the tree of knowledge.¹⁵ Again even a partial achievement, the half tree, fits into an idealized framework. Epistemological reality appears rather hopeless, therefore, although the living of life is certainly not negated.

Even limited greenness fails in the poems themselves because when this condition prevails, the poet's season is winter and the

tree is leafless. In the larger framework of time, of course, winter is impermanent. The poet's task is to maintain his effort, not succumb to a momentary collapse in an impossible endeavor. Perfection lies not in the object but in the subject's, in man's, purpose:

L'air s'obscurcit, & le Vent ennuyeux
Les arbres vertz de leurs fueilles denue.
Adonc en moy, peu a peu, diminue
Non celle ardeur, qui croit l'affection,
Mais la ferueur, qui detient la foy nue
Toute gelée en sa perfection.

(171)

Although wavering at times, the will must remain intact; its decrease is in strength not intent, in form not essence. The trees may be leafless, but they stay green. The will can enforce only a vibrating stasis, but at least this is more than a state of sterility. On the other hand, the scope of human abilities certainly has been reduced.

Because of this constriction of epistemological space the poet becomes frightened and seeks shelter within himself, and then an added fright results from an ontological loss of identity. Since he cannot succeed in mastering the outside world, he no longer recognizes himself. A break has occurred between him and the universe. The ideal of harmony between individual and cosmos is shattered. The basic Renaissance notion that the perfection in the universe reflects man's potentialities is here seriously questioned:

Parquoy troublé de telle anxiété,
Voyant mon cas, de moy ie m'espouuante.

(231)

Metaphorically, looking at oneself suggests the notion of a mirror.¹⁶ In this case the beholder does not like what he sees. A distorted mask of tragedy has replaced an unhappy face, and certainly a serene one. The failure at epistemology leads to a more successful attempt at self-knowledge which, however, remains quite pessimistic.

Defeat and retreat have not taken place at the expense of consciousness. In the bleakness of a subterranean night man retains

some light.¹⁷ There he lies in wait hoping for some reintegration with the outside terrestrial world, but he is really lost in the cosmic dark. Expectation persists, but apprehension dominates. The metaphor of the hare conveys both this timorousness and some form of absent presence still to be reached, to be deciphered:

Comme le Lieure accroppy en son giste,
Ie tendz l'oreille, oyant un bruyt confus,
Tout esperdu aux tenebres d'Egypte. (129)

Here is summarized in essence the human situation seen by Scève, at least in the *Délie*. Recoiled upon himself and existing in an undecipherable universe, man still reaches out for some scraps of knowledge. Further aggravating his condition, a relentless cacaphony has replaced the communicability of words. In this particular instance it should also be noted that the ineffable reverberations of metaphor clearly distinguish literature from mere treatise.

The crushing human predicament leaves some room, at least, for self-mastery and a modicum of freedom. Will again appears as a potentiality, though of course it is not to be realized to the fullest. The metaphor of the glove enclosing the hand conveys a notion of obstructed realization, while reconciliation coexists with an incessant hope of escape:

Vous, Gantz heureux, fortunée prison
De liberté vouluntairement serue,
Celez le mal avec la guerison,
Comme vostre ombre en soy tousiours conserue
Et froid, & chault, selon que se reserue
Le libre vueil de necessaire aisance.
Mais tout ainsi, qu'a son obeissance
Dedens vous entre, & sort sa blanche main,
Ie sortiray de l'obsure nuisance,
Ou me tient clos cest enfant inhumain. (169)

If the poet had succeeded in extricating himself from the "obsure nuisance," there would have been no further poems. He remains, however, a prisoner of his condition, which is movement within constriction. The ideal is the free movement associated

with the literal glove belonging to the lady as opposed to the reality of a no-exit situation associated with the poet's figurative glove. Self-mastery and will exist, then, much more as a potentiality never quite realized than as working agents, and all because of that "enfant inhumain," no mere cruel and divine Cupid, but also a secularized and oppressive *putto* that both thwarts man's epistemological success and underpins his ontological state.

Therefore, the world of Scève is that of an aborted blossoming. Depicting the human situation as man crouched and cowering in darkness, he suggests that an activity takes place in that encumbered locus, but that full fruition is never reached. Underneath an apparently dead surface a feverish activity is in the offing:

Parquoy, vivant soubz verdoyante escorce,
S'escallera aux Siecles infiniz. (407)

Green, usually an image for fertility and creativity, hardly surfaces. As used by Scève, green for the most part remains convoluted and interiorized. It produces only a mirror of itself, not of the outside world. There is always a sense of congestion and then a missed effort to exteriorize it, or there is such a constricted result that it is disproportionate to the effort or to the anxiety involved. Consequently the sense of failure remains stronger than ever, and the poet sees himself "Comme boys vert, bruler, pleurer, & plaindre" (334). When the green does surface, it merely shrivels up unto itself. In these instances the metaphor of the bud conveys the meaning; spring brings only a partial and temporary opening:

Tant que sur moy le tien ingrat froit dure,
Mon espoir est denué de son herbe:
Puis retournant le doux Ver sans froidure
Mon An se frise en son Auril superbe. (148)

The Scévian spring is a time when the bud is arrested before it reaches its full development. The fully grown leaves will never come out. The bud stays at its best while closed; once opened, it fails in its purpose. A state of becoming retains its potentiality,

whereas an exteriorized state of being does not realize itself. Cast against a goal to be reached, epistemology fails, and the resulting recoil produces a viable but desperate ontology. Accrued effort occurs, then, in direct increased proportion to failure or anxiety, but the timeless and cyclical spiritual greenness helps very little since it unleashes the very forces it seeks to eliminate. The remedy becomes its own poison. The desire to know, *curiositas*, that Renaissance divinity, harbors its own failure and destruction:

Et ià (de loing,) courbe viellesse accule
Celle verdure, que ie senty nouvelle.
Ce neantmoins tousiours se renouvelle
Le mal, qui vient ma playe reunir. (333)

Ontologically, then, the bud signifies Scève's convoluted and constricted but fermenting being, and epistemologically it indicates a thwarted concept of knowledge.¹⁸ But these conditions do not suggest spiritual sterility. On the contrary, they lend themselves to the poet's self-renewal and rededication. The failed attempts urge him to still further attempts, although checkmated efforts also mean that the buds do not ever really open healthily and satisfactorily:

Et quand les miens [yeux] i'ay vers les siens tenduz,
Ie me recrée au mal, ou ie m'ennuye,
Comme bourgeons au Soleil estenduz,
Qui se refont aux gouttes de la pluye. (409)

This limited regenerative process needs both sun (knowledge) and rain (the metaphoric tears of suffering and *ennui* that inevitably destroy as well). But this process also raises fundamental questions, perhaps moot, of authenticity: is it a contrived literary ploy in order to continue writing, or is it really a reflection of Scève's predicament? The safest answer, of course, is that it is both. A more controversial answer would be that authenticity exists contextually, that is, in the universe created by the text and not necessarily in relation to biographical referents.

Since the theme of self-renewal and rededication is given from the very beginning (the poet states it in the liminary octet), the failure of the epistemological quest is assumed *a priori*. It can

be further assumed that a liminary poem is composed *a posteriori* in order to project and stress the essence of the work that follows. Here, then, is an assertion that the *Délie* is more a description of renewals than a systematic and successful exploration of the truth:

Non de Venus les ardentz estincelles,
Et moins les traictz, desquelz Cupido tire:
Mais bien les mortz, qu'en moy tu renouelles
Je t'ay voulu en cest Oeuure descrire. (p. 119)

On one level, evidently, the poet rejects physical love in favor of spiritual love, and being rejected in turn renews his resolve to be accepted. His persistence may be due also to hopeful signs he receives or imagines he receives. From a Platonic point of view, "les mortz" are the abnegation of the self, of mere *philautia*, in order to fuse with the other. And on an epistemological plane, "les mortz" are the poet's failure due to "mainte erreur," a Petrarchan echo in the same poem. But they also are the very source of renewed attempts to succeed because of man's inherent potential to seek to realize himself.¹⁹ It could be argued that defeat is almost welcome since it generates counterattack (more poems) or because it allows a rationalization for self-recoil, ontology, a more realizable narcissistic endeavor.

The metaphor of the phoenix illustrates best the multi-dimensional theme of regeneration so fundamental to the *Délie*. Occurring three times in the poems (48, 158, 278) and once in the emblems (11), it encompasses the poet (subject), the beloved (object), and poetry (the diaphanous intermediary between the two). Poetry, in other words, is self-knowledge, knowledge, and literary creation (another redemptive factor), and all three are subject to the oscillations of failure and fruitlessly renewed attempts. Scève has become reconciled to this *modus vivendi*, and he even looks forward to it since it is the only form of cognitive activity available to him. In addition to their usual contextual meanings, death, life, and the object of love assume significance in the domain of knowledge that appears as a continuous, vertical, circular, and self-contained movement with no clear sense of direction or exit:

Si onc la Mort fut tresdoulcement chere,
A l'Ame doulce ores cherement plaict:
Et si la vie eust onc ioyeuse chere,
Toute contente en ce corps se complaict.
A l'un agréée, & l'autre desplaict[.]
L'estre apparent de ma vaine fumée,
Qui tost estaincte, & soubdain rallumée,
Tient l'esperance en lubrique seïour.
Dont, comme au feu le Phoenix, eplumée
Meurt, & renaist en moy cent fois le iour.

(48)

Ultimately, in a sense, there is no failure because there is always another temporary self-renewal, and this process applies not only to the poet but also to the object with which he deals. In other words, Délie, the incarnation of perfect knowledge, also revitalizes herself, but she does so because to a great extent she is a mere projection of the poet himself. Hence the artificiality of this apparent duality. She is the universal being

En qui Nature à mis pour sa plaisance
Tout le parfaict de son diuin ourage,
Et tellement, certes, qu'a sa naissance
Renouella le Phoenix de nostre aage[.]

(278)

On a literal level, of course, the phoenix here is the poet who is renewed by the appearance of God's perfection. Thus the poet participates in the divine, but given his natural limitations he will inevitably rehumanize himself. If there is any doubt about the epistemological intent of love, the first three words of the poem dispel it: "Qui veult scauoir. . ." must subsume, addict, himself to Délie. But her *naissance*, the birth of the desire to know, engenders its own destruction, the impossibility to possess, which in turn leads to repeated further attempts, the phoenix incarnate, infinity and infinite repetitions. *Naissance* through anagrammatic, semantic, and phonic association contains its own oxymoronic form, *nescience*, i.e., *inscience*, the consciousness of knowing that one cannot know, which makes the phoenix the only viable alternative. This kind of oxymoronic anagrammatic technique is the rule more than the exception in Scève's poetics

because it is the essence of the condensing process (the poet is a distiller) and because it signifies the intense coexistence of opposites that survive through their reciprocal negation—and only a phoenix can issue from this process.²⁰

The phoenix means repetition. Hence eternity through the creative process, although suggestive of the life cycle (i.e., the beneficial effect of poetizing), is inevitably counterpointed by the death cycle (i.e., the difficulty if not the devastating impossibility of writing).²¹ Nevertheless, no matter how much the poet indulges in self-pity over his sterility, an inability to speak because of his intense suffering, the net result is still *Délie*, the phoenix, a *canzoniere*, a succession of 449 poems each attesting to an indomitable will to reach toward serenity:

Quand mon Phœnix pour son esbatement
Dessus sa lyre a iouer commença:
Lors tout soubdain en moins, que d'un moment,
L'air s'esclaircit, & Aquilon cessa. (158)

Though each *dizain* is but a momentary conquest of an impossible epistemological task, it does succeed in constructing a concept of duration, an interiorized time span that achieves some measure of self-knowledge. Even that success, however, is a mixed blessing because it is really impossible to separate the self from the other, the subject from the object; and if the other is impregnable, so is the self, in the final analysis, unless one deals in phenomenological terms.

Literature attempts, among other things, to reconcile dream and nightmare, ideal and real. Much more than negating and reacting against a distant past, French Renaissance literature also re-evaluates the human condition in terms of a more proximate past that is sometimes no farther away than one or two generations. The writers of the sixteenth century, such as those of the third through the fifth decades, are no longer mere initiators of utopian visions, but critics of some of them, victims of their ancestors' dreams, those on both sides of the Alps, begun in the fifteenth century. That Renaissance they refute. While redimensioning, bringing down to human proportion, epistemological

and ontological principles that shape their own renaissance from that first Renaissance, they try endlessly to escape. They seek, in fact, an accommodation, not a breakthrough. In *Délie*, achievement is the awareness and the final rationalization of eventual partial or total failure while engaging in a circular revitalizing motion with one's existential situation. Diogenes the Cynic needed a lantern to see in broad daylight; Scève the phoenix uses his to shed some light in a cellular penumbra—all in all, no small consolation.

Notes

1. Cf. Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris, 1972), pp. 466-475; Moshé Lazar, *Amour courtois et "fin' amors"* (Paris, 1964), pp. 64-66; 70-73; 118-134; René Nelli, *L'érotique des troubadours* (Toulouse, 1963).
2. Quoted in Ernst Cassirer, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy*, trans. Mario Domandi (Oxford, 1963), p. 85.
3. François Rabelais, *Pantagruel in Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Jacques Boulenger and Lucien Scheler (Paris, 1962), ch. 8, p. 206.
4. For some recent studies on this subject see a series of articles in the issue of *Yale French Studies*, 47 (1972), devoted to "Image and Symbol in the Renaissance."
5. *The 'Délie' of Maurice Scève*, ed. I. D. McFarlane (Cambridge, 1966). Henceforth citations from the *Délie* will be from this edition and the number of the *dizain* will follow the text.
6. It has been noted justly that the Scévian landscape is not plastic but rather a state of mind, the oscillation of consciousness between appearances and the self; cf. Françoise Joukovsky, "Les Lyonnais," *Paysages de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1974), p. 49.
7. Cf. also Thomas M. Greene, "Image and Consciousness in Scève's *Délie*," *The Meaning of Mannerism*, ed. F. W. Robinson and S. G. Nichols, Jr. (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1972), p. 29.
8. Odette de Mourgues, "An Early Metaphysical Poet: Maurice Scève," *Metaphysical, Baroque and Précieux Poetry* (Oxford, 1953), p. 25.
9. The liminary octet had already announced this theme: "Amour (pourtant) les me voyant escrire/ En ta faueur, les passa par ses flammes" (p. 119).
10. See P.-A. Amargier, "De la mélancholie chez Pétrarque: Signification théologique," *Revue Thomiste*, 74 (1974), 23-34; Guido Almansi, "Petrarca o dell' insignificanza," *Paragone*, 296 (1974), 68-73. For a rapprochement concerning this theme between Petrarch and Montaigne, see my article "Montaigne et Pétrarque: Irrésolution et solitude," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1974), 203-205.
11. One of the better statements on consciousness and inquietude in Scève is made by Georges Poulet, "La poésie de Maurice Scève," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, 15 (1967), 89. This darker side of Scève has also been stressed by Pascal Quignard, *La parole de Délie* (Paris, 1974), especially in chapter V, "L'obscur en tant que le vague" (pp. 127-146).
12. Alienation and anxiety in the Renaissance have been the subject of a series of essays edited by Robert S. Kinsman under the title, *The Darker Vision of the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1974); the essay dealing with French literature is by Marc Bensimon, "Modes of Perception of Reality in the Renaissance" (pp. 221-272).
13. For the serpent as an image of the conscious self, see Richard Klein, "Straight Lines and Arabesques: Metaphors of Metaphor," *Yale French Studies*, 45 (1970), 69.
14. The symbol of the truncated tree in the emblems is discussed by Ruth Mülhauser, "The Poetic Function of the Emblems in the *Délie*," *Esprit Créateur*, 5 (1965), 81-84.
15. Cf. Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450-1600: Dictionnaire d'un langage perdu* (Geneva, 1959), II, 389-391.
16. The mirror as "une méditation active sur l'objet aimé, et, par conséquent, d'une connaissance de soi" is treated by Jean Frappier, "Variations sur le thème du miroir, de Bernard de Ventadour à Maurice Scève," *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Etudes Françaises*, 11 (1959), 154.
17. The theme of light, though not in our epistemological context, has been

dealt with by Verdun Louis Saulnier, "Maurice Scève et la clarté," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 5 (1948), 96-105; and by Hans Staub, "Le thème de la lumière chez Maurice Scève," *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Etudes Françaises*, 20 (1968), 125-136. For an interpretation of light closer to ours, see Thomas M. Greene, "Styles of Experience in Scève's *Délie*," *Yale French Studies*, 47 (1972), 72; cf. also note 4 above.

18. In his study on Scève, *Le curieux désir* (Geneva, 1967), Hans Staub does not convey the concept of thwarted knowledge that is presented here.

19. The results of this achievement are the "durs Épygrammes" mentioned in the liminary octet, that is the harsh, chiseled, and contorted *dizains* of *Délie*. For a discussion and definition of that phrase, see Dorothy Coleman, *Maurice Scève Poet of Love: Tradition and Originality* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 45-51.

20. The notion of the anagram is fundamental to *Délie*, and not just in its title; see Jacqueline Risset, *L'anagramme du désir* (Rome, 1971), pp. 92-100; cf. also François Rigolot, "Pétrarquisme et onomastique: La signification poétique du nom dans la *Délie* de Maurice Scève," *Studi di Letteratura Francese*, 4 (1975), 85-105.

21. The acceptance of the concept of repetition does not necessarily refute the presence of an evolution in *Délie*. For the *Délie* as a repetitive variation on several themes, see Poulet (p. 92) and Klein (p. 75). The theme of silence punctuates *Délie* and is counterpointed by the irrepressible desire to speak and the difficulty thereof: cf. Verdun Louis Saulnier, "Aspects de Maurice Scève: La voix et le silence dans *Délie*," *Actes du colloque sur l'Humanisme lyonnais au XVI^e siècle (mai 1972)* (Grenoble, 1974), pp. 359-380; and Quignard, "Nommer, dire, taire," and "Nommer, soupirer, bruire," *op. cit.*, pp. 25-58, 63-86; Alfred Glauser, "Scève ou le dizain huis-clos," *Le poème-symbole de Scève à Valéry* (Paris, 1967), pp. 21-35; Ruth Mulhauser, *Maurice Scève* (Boston, 1977), pp. 56-61.

On the Concept of the English Literary Renaissance

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My purpose in writing the first part of this lecture was to provide some basis for the nine Fellows in our seminar to relate our special areas of research in Renaissance English literature. In it I seek to outline a common area of concern so that our discussions may expand and consolidate our understanding of the English literary Renaissance. To that end, I offer an hypothesis of its nature or "idea," one which we may test, modify, or even reject provided that we reach a more comprehensive understanding of the literature as a whole. While we are apart, we obey the exhortation of that fine old hymn "Brighten the Corner Where You Are," turning from any common area of concern and even casting it into darker shadow; now that we are brought together we plan to occupy that area, even though it may become a battlefield of conflicting interests. Our special areas of study center at the moment on certain writers—Skelton, the Edwardian gospellers, Sidney, Spenser, the metaphysical poets, Massinger, and Milton—writers who belong chronologically to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an historical period which we agree to label the Renaissance. We agree only on that name, however, and not on what it signifies, not even whether it is fact or fiction. We find it difficult to characterize the literary Renaissance in England, to say just what it is apart from a chronological grouping of literary works.

We find it difficult to define the Renaissance partly because modern literary criticism, which supplies the language with which we speak as critics, largely ignores the relation of a poet and his poem to his own age. However violently the major schools of criticism quarrel among themselves, they usually agree in re-

lating a poem to our age by isolating it from its own. Thus rhetorical criticism relates a poem to the reader and biographical criticism to the poet; generic criticism relates a poem through its genre to literature as a whole, and archetypal criticism relates it more broadly to art and culture; and, at the opposite extreme, the neo-Aristotelian school relates a poem incestuously to itself. Today we tend to regard a poem in Longinian terms as a process rather than in Aristotelian terms as a product: as a process taking place within the modern reader rather than as the product of a particular moment in the history of a country written for a reader contemporary to the poem itself. In effect, we have undone the creative act described by Shakespeare's Duke Theseus: "as imagination bodies forth / The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen / Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing / A local habitation and a name"; for we have dissolved that "local habitation and a name" back into "The forms of things unknown," leaving an "airy nothing" uncontaminated by the merely human or by the immediate, local pressures of an historical moment and place. A poem is generally regarded now as a self-contained verbal universe, one that defines its own meanings both by using conventions and obeying laws of decorum which relate it to literature generally, and by embodying symbols, myths, and archetypes which reveal its universal significance. Today most of us—of course, I include myself—tend to read a Renaissance poem simply as literature apart from any historical context. We would never "reduce" it—that's a betraying word—to an expression of English life in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Perhaps we may agree at least that the particular historical contexts which relate a writer to his age vary. A major writer, such as Shakespeare, is "not of an age but for all time": any age may see him as its contemporary. In contrast, a minor writer, such as Barnabe Googe, seems totally absorbed by his age, leaving so little for us that we say lamely that he is "historically representative," disguising by that term just what, in fact, he represents. Most writers lie between these extremes, and about them we cannot agree. A case in point is John Donne. In *Revaluation* F. R. Leavis cites the opening stanza of Donne's "The Good Morrow"

and adds: "At this we cease reading as students, or as connoisseurs of anthology-pieces, and read on as we read the living. The extraordinary force of originality that made Donne so potent an influence in the seventeenth century makes him now at once for us, without his being the less felt as of his period, contemporary—obviously a living poet in the most important sense."¹ Agreeing with Leavis's recognition of Donne's contemporaneity, readers of the 1930's and 1940's valued Donne as a particularly modern poet who stood apart from, even against, his own age until Rosemond Tuve demonstrated that what was admired as original and modern in him was orthodoxly Elizabethan.² Agreeing with Tuve, A. J. Smith concludes that "our primary office for this poet [Donne] is not to invest him with current aims . . . , but discarding our determinedly inward-focused modern spectacles, to establish a full technical context, and to trace material sources."³ In answer to Smith, Patrick Cruttwell maintains that one may read poetry only as one's "time-limited, prejudice-limited self":

It is in truth impossible to read poetry except as oneself, which means as a member of one's own age and society: no amount of erudition can turn us into anything at all like John Donne or one of his readers in the year 1600. Mr. Smith's metaphor of "modern spectacles" which can be put on and discarded is betrayingly inexact. For behind spectacles are eyes; and it is eyes, not spectacles, we see with; and our eyes, incurably, are eyes of the twentieth century.⁴

This quarrel over Donne is part of a larger quarrel over historical versus critical approaches to earlier literature. Whether we try to reconstruct the historical framework within which we ought to read a Renaissance poem, or remain content to recreate the poem in our own image, or in some way mediate between the two approaches, our response is frequently divided, rarely well-rounded. As a result, whatever appeals to current fashion or prejudice is singled out as revealing universal significance while whatever we do not like we ignore or relegate to the "merely historical," not allowing that we may read an earlier poem "as we read the living" just because it shows "the very age and body of the time [the writer's time but also ours] his form and pressure."

For students of Renaissance literature in England a divided response remains particularly distressing because the historical element remains central to that literature. Of all earlier literature, that of the Renaissance seems most strongly committed to its own age. In other words, it appears "dated" and the most remote from life as commonly experienced. Langland's ploughman in "a faire felde ful of folke" is more modern than Spenser's knight "pricking on the plaine" in Faeryland; Malory's Arthurian knights are more modern than Sidney's Arcadian princes. In other ages, the poet may regard himself as a maker, versifier, oracle, legislator, prophet, a man speaking to men, a sensitive plant; only in the Renaissance does he seek the epithet, "a curious and learned Artificer."

If it is true—or true even in part—that literature of the English Renaissance is strongly committed to its own age, one might expect critics of that literature to have considered the nature of that Renaissance. Yet the only thorough treatment is by a French critic, Hippolyte Taine, in a history of English literature first published in Paris in the nineteenth century, and then in English translation (fittingly) in Edinburgh. Taine's concept of the Renaissance is not derived from a study of English literature but, as Wallace K. Ferguson has pointed out, from the work of the European cultural historian Jakob Burckhardt.⁵ The Burckhardtian concept was still dominant some seventy years later, as Rosemond Tuve complained when she urged English scholars to reconsider and redefine, within the perspective of English studies, the idea of the Renaissance. In "A Critical Survey of Scholarship in the Field of English Literature of the Renaissance" in 1943, she observed that "the lack of adequate generalizations about the period *in England*" has meant that "much scholarship in the field of English letters has operated and does still operate under the unrealized domination of the Michelet-Burckhardt conception of the Renaissance."⁶ In a similar survey over twenty years later I noted that "revaluations of the Burckhardt concept of the Renaissance have brought its rejection without bringing, as she hoped, general treatments of the concept of the Renaissance."⁷ The

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index to A. C. Baugh's *Literary History of England*, for example, has only one reference to the Renaissance, and that is to a sentence which notes the dispute over the term. In his *Oxford History of English Literature*, C. S. Lewis avoids the term "Renaissance" through more than fifty pages of his general introduction on the grounds that it "can hardly be defined except as 'an imaginary entity responsible for everything the speaker likes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.'"⁸ The recent *Sphere History of English Poetry and Prose, 1540-1674* does not include any account of the term, or even of general background; instead, it analyzes literature according to various "critical concepts." The term "Renaissance" survives chiefly in the titles of literary journals, institutes, and public lectures.

In noting Tuve's challenge to students of literature to redefine what the Renaissance meant to England, Harry Levin comments that the reluctance to do so "seems to be connected with the feeling that, whatever it may or may not have been, the Renaissance originated abroad; and that our duty to it does not extend beyond noting the indigenous responses to its specific importations."⁹ On the dubious principle of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, the Renaissance of literature in England is considered to extend the Renaissance of the arts and culture generally which occurred in Italy several centuries earlier. The unfortunate consequence is that students of literature inherit an account given by historians for the culture of an earlier and different period. The concepts used by cultural historians, whose interests are necessarily extra-literary, remain too broad and inexact to clarify the nature of the specifically literary Renaissance in England. As they involve, for example, such meaningless abstractions as "the Renaissance man" and "the spirit of the age," or depend on a cyclical view of history which ignores the continuity of English culture from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, they have led inevitably to the cynicism about "the Renaissance label" expressed recently by J. R. Hale: "we should suspend our belief above all in the chronological limits it has come to enshrine and be cautious about any qualities of the human spirit that it pur-

ports to monopolize.”¹⁰ Even though Professor Hale is contributing to a book entitled *Background to the English Renaissance*, he concludes that at the moment there is nothing that we can usefully talk about as an English Renaissance.

The need to find ways to talk about the English Renaissance in terms of literature has been strongly argued by Arthur Barker. As his former (and continuing) student, I agree with him that we must “throw off the Italianate fixation of the philosophical and cultural historians . . . and go on more intelligently with our own business, with which the merely cultural historians are obviously incapable of dealing, that is, with the appraisal and explanation of *the* English Renaissance—the literary and poetical renaissance of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.”¹¹ In fact, the student of literature has little choice now except to treat the period in terms of literature. He will get little help from the historians, whose competing definitions reduce what is to him a “fact,” that there was an English literary Renaissance, to a complicated fiction.¹² Historical definitions in terms of the current “isms,” whether individualism, secularism, rationalism, or humanism in any of its varieties—Christian, northern, or “mere” humanism—only confuse. If a definition is simple, it remains too simple to accommodate the complexity of any poem; if selective, it fragments a poem’s structure; if precisely formulated, it becomes an axe or hammer when applied to an imaginative work; if vague, it introduces emotional bias; and so on. Historical concepts of the Renaissance prove to be imaginary abstractions with as many meanings as there are historians to fashion them or works to which they may be applied; and rather than relate a writer to his age they relate the historian to his own age. At best they supply a glass through which one reads darkly, at worst a mirror that reflects the gazer. One may despair that there was such a thing as Renaissance literature and conclude that there were only separate literary works written in England between 1580 and 1660. And it may well be that with such different works written over a considerable period, any general concept must fail. As a consequence of the stubborn particularity and unique presence

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of works of literature, specific differences always remain more striking than general similarities, with the result that any concept of the Renaissance remains an "imaginative unity," abstract and value-ridden.

So much by way of clearing the ground to provide some room for what I want to say. However, I am not about to pick up the gauntlet which has remained in place ever since Rosemond Tuve threw it down over thirty years ago. My remarks here have been very carefully entitled, "On the Concept of the English Literary Renaissance." There is "much virtue in *On*." Instead, I propose to allow the writers of the age to provide me with a concept, and specifically Sidney, who became their critical spokesman by formulating in his *Defence of Poetry* the poetic by which they wrote. Out of the argument of the *Defence* I offer an hypothesis on the nature or idea of the Renaissance.

Although the term "Renaissance" is rejected by C. S. Lewis because "our legend of the Renaissance is a Renaissance legend,"¹³ it has captured and influenced man's imagination because it has the power of a legend. While Wordsworth may not have regarded himself as a Romantic poet, and Collins certainly did not regard himself as a pre-Romantic poet, writers of the late sixteenth century did believe that they were taking part in a re-birth of English literature. In a work addressed to "the noble poets of Englande," William Webbe observes: "I know no memorable worke written by any Poet in our English speeche vntill twenty yeeres past."¹⁴ As we know through Harry Levin's *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance*, Webbe's judgment on the past and present was commonly shared. Gabriel Harvey, for example, who believed that the Golden Age at last flourished under Elizabeth, claimed triumphantly in 1593: "Ingland, since it was Ingland, neuer bred more honorable mindes, more aduenturous hartes, more valorous handes, or more excellent wittes then of late."¹⁵ In 1594 Samuel Daniel anticipated that English poetry would rival the best that Europe could offer:

Whereby great Sydney and our Spencer might,
With those Po-singers being equalled,

Enchaunt the world with such a sweet delight,
That their eternall Songs (for euer read)
May shew what great Elizaes raigne hath bred.¹⁶

He lived long enough, however, to see himself as "the remnant of another time," to lament the art of poetry as "this now neglected harmonie," and to recall with deep nostalgia that Elizabeth had given birth to more poets than had all earlier rulers:

... it may be, the Genius of that time
Would leaue to her the glory in that kind,
And that the vtmost powers of English Rime
Should be within her peacefull raigne confin'd;
For since that time our Songs could neuer thriue.
But laine as if forlorne; though in the prime
Of this new raising season, we did striue
To bring the best we could vnto the time.¹⁷

Such nostalgia for the Golden Age was shared by many "remnants" in the early seventeenth century, among them, notably, that "last Elizabethan" Drayton, whose constant theme is regret for the passing of "that Muse-nursing season."¹⁸

The central and seminal figure in this golden age, its instigator, presiding genius, and later its exemplar, is Sir Philip Sidney. His account of the nature and working of the "right poet" in the *Defence* provided the critical manifesto for writers of the age. While he recognized that England had been a "cruel step-mother" to her poets, he was confident that the English language was "indeed capable of any excellent exercising of it." Accordingly, he took upon himself the role of teaching poets how to write and the age how to read so that England, as a kindly mother, would produce a literature worthy of her political and religious destiny.¹⁹

Sidney's ostensible purpose in the *Defence* is to defend poetry against its two traditional enemies, the poet-haters who attack the art of poetry and the poet-apes who abuse it. Although his specific arguments are thoroughly traditional, his concept of the "end and working" of poetry constitutes a new and revolutionary poetic. His real purpose is to defend poetry in relation to Scripture. How may the poet's word exist within the Word of God,

neither rejected nor absorbed? It is a paradox, perhaps finally unanswerable, that the poet's imaginative fiction may be consonant with God's Truth, or that his work of imitation may agree with Revelation itself. Especially in the context of a radically otherworldly religion, how may a poem remain secular, being written, as Sidney insists, for man's "use and learning" and yet, as he also insists, "the end and working of it such as, being rightly applied, deserveth not to be scourged out of the Church of God"?²⁰

To answer these questions, Sidney formulates and proceeds to justify a kind of poetry that is neither secular nor divine, an imaginative fiction that is neither opposed to God's word nor to be identified with it. There is no discord between them nor is there simply concord (which implies a union of equals), but a relationship closer to *discordia concors*, a harmonious union of opposites. While the poet's word serves man in the world, it so serves him that its end and working do not supplant or rival, but rather supplement, the end and working of God's word.

Sidney's defense of poetry depends on an intellectual frame of reference assumed by writers of his age, one which recognizes the two levels of existence and experience upon which man lives, the order of nature and the order of grace. The differences between them have been formulated by A. S. P. Woodhouse as follows:

In the natural order belonged not only the physical world, what is commonly called the world of nature inanimate and animate, but man himself considered simply as a denizen of that world. The rule of its order was expressed not only in the physical laws of nature, but in natural ethics. . . . This order was apprehended in experience and interpreted by reason. . . . To the order of grace, on the other hand, belonged man in his character of supernatural being, with all that concerned his salvation, under the old dispensation and the new. The law of its government was the revealed will of God, received and interpreted by faith, and it included a special kind of experience called religious experience.²¹

For Sidney, the relation between these two orders is complex for a number of reasons. First, he does not adopt either of the ex-

treme positions which would separate the orders by emphasizing one at the expense of the other: for him, they are not antithetical but complementary. Secondly, within the order of nature he recognizes two distinct areas of experience, fallen and unfallen nature.²² Finally, for him, fallen nature is radically fallen, and that extends not only to man's nature and external nature but to whatever is their product.

In the *Defence* Sidney assumes that the arts and sciences ought to belong to the higher level of the order of nature as they seek "by knowledge to lift up the mind from the dungeon of the body to the enjoying his own divine essence" and as their final end is "to lead and draw us to as high a perfection as our degenerate souls, made worse by their clayey lodgings, can be capable of" (p. 82). It follows that education in the arts and sciences should do more than "draw out," as its etymology suggests; its end is to draw man up, as Milton implies when he writes that the end of learning is "to repair the ruins of our first parents."²³ Sidney's defense of poetry rests upon the claim that this end is best achieved by poetry.

Of the traditional disciplines of learning (law, philosophy, and history—in effect, all the arts and sciences), Sidney asks: does the nurture they provide help perfect man's nature? Each is found wanting because each fails to restore man's fallen nature to its original perfection, to that state in which the inward possession of the virtues, through love of them, expresses itself in virtuous action. Law fails because it fails to satisfy the twofold function required of learning, that it both "take naughtiness away and plant goodness even in the secretest cabinet of our souls" (p. 85). While it may seek to "take naughtiness away," it does so only through fear of punishment, not through love of virtue; it "doth not endeavour to make men good" (p. 84). Moral philosophy also fails. While it may seek to make men good by teaching what virtue is, it teaches only those already taught; it cannot teach fallen man, whose "infected will" prevents him from desiring goodness. History fails simply because, as it records the actions of fallen man, it is confined entirely to the lower level of nature. In Sidney's superbly dismissive phrase, it is "captived to

the truth of a foolish world." For Sidney, all the arts and sciences—and he would include most of what his age regarded as poetry—are subject to fallen nature:

There is no art delivered to mankind that hath not the works of nature for his principal object, without which they could not consist, and on which they so depend, as they become actors and players, as it were, of what nature will have set forth. (p. 78)

Since the arts and sciences follow Nature, which itself is fallen, they cannot release man from it in order to restore him to his original state of perfection.

Sidney's rejection of the arts derived from Nature extends to all knowledge provided by the unaided reason and memory, and implies a general disenchantment with formal education.²⁴ It is not that he prefers experience—what we term "the school of life"—to learning; he would agree with Ascham that experience is the worst teacher, and with Amyot that it is "the school-mistress of fools."²⁵ For through the Fall man lost the higher knowledge that he enjoyed in his unfallen state and gained a poor substitute, the knowledge of experience. However, rejection of worldly learning and experience does not lead Sidney to uphold Revelation and faith, as the direction of his argument might lead one to expect. Instead, he offers another kind of poetry.

Sidney posits a poet whose art does not depend upon fallen nature because he creates a "golden" nature. In the central paragraph of the *Defence* he defends the creative power of this "right poet":

Neither let it be deemed too saucy a comparison to balance the highest point of man's wit with the efficacy of nature; but rather give right honour to the heavenly Maker of that maker, who having made man to His own likeness, set him beyond and over all the works of that second nature: which in nothing he showeth so much as in poetry, when with the force of a divine breath he bringeth things forth surpassing her doings—with no small arguments to the credulous of that first accursed fall of Adam, since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected will keepeth us from reaching unto it. (p. 79)

He concludes this paragraph by allowing that "these arguments will by few be understood, and by fewer granted."

I understand this much: the "right poet" manifests man's state of original perfection in which he was set by God "over the works of . . . [His] hands" (Heb. 2:7) and was able to fulfil His injunction to "subdue the world" (Gen. 1:28). When man fell, this order was inverted. Man became subject to nature, both his own and that perceived by his senses and experience. Through his poetry the poet seeks to free man from such subjection and to restore him to the power he once enjoyed. The images of the virtues, vices, and passions displayed in the work of the "right poet" lead man to the highest end of learning, which is the "knowledge of a man's self" (p. 83), not knowledge simply of his fallen nature, which he may then reject, but rather "the enjoying his own divine essence" (p. 82). Sidney allows that few of those who understand his argument concerning the poet's creative power over Nature will grant his further argument that this power may be transferred to the reader. Yet central to his defense of poetry is the claim that poetry may so move the "infected will" that the reader will love and embrace its images of ideal virtue. By such working, poetry provides the patterns of virtues through which man's nature may be re-created and restored to the level of un-fallen nature. The process is implicitly analogous—but no more than implicitly—to the power of grace to redeem and restore man to the higher order of grace. Sidney keeps the orders distinct. It is not Christ whom the poet persuades the reader to imitate but pagan heroes such as Cyrus and Aeneas. Accordingly, the work of the right poet differs from that of the divine poet, which aspires to the order of grace as it imitates "the unconceivable excellencies of God" (p. 80). While both kinds lift man up, the right poet seeks only to restore him to a fully human state in which the "excellencies" are the natural virtues. Obviously the work of the right poet differs also from ordinary poetry, which belongs to the lower level of nature as it imitates fallen nature. The right poet endeavors to lift man out of his fallen state, not to confirm him in it.

This concept of the end and working of poetry, allowing the

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art a power unique among the arts and sciences to raise man's fallen nature to a higher level at which it may be supplemented by divine grace, became seminal in shaping the literary Renaissance in England. My hypothesis is that the English literary Renaissance may best be understood in terms of this concept. I have deliberately not termed it Sidney's concept, even though it is contained in the *Defence*: Sidney was too immediately and fully responsive to the best in his age—its religion, philosophy, ethics, and literary criticism—for his ideas to be regarded merely as his own. Since he spoke from the center of his age, he became the spokesman for its poets, as his enormous influence over them indicates. Yet "influence" is not the proper term. It is better to regard Sidney, writing in 1580, simply as prophetic. He fashioned the Protestant poetic for England, a poetic which served—and perhaps must still serve—writers in the language.²⁶

Poetry that fulfils this poetic has four chief characteristics. First, it is imaginative fiction, "not affirmatively but allegorically and figuratively written" (p. 103), and as such is distinct from the truth either revealed to man by Scripture or known to him by experience. Being fiction, it exists in the order of nature as a second nature independent of ordinary nature, as Sidney notes in his memorable statement, "[Nature's] world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden" (p. 78). (By the active form of the verb, he separates the poet's art from all those arts "delivered to mankind.") Secondly, it is a fiction designed to move the reader's infected will through the delight it provides him. Since that will is radically infected, poetry must arouse wonder, enchant, even ravish the reader in order to move him to goodness. Thirdly, as a fiction designed to move the reader's will, poetry is visionary: it presents images of the virtues with such *enargia* that readers may see the virtues themselves. Fourthly, the poet's fiction, being designed to move the reader's infected will and make him see the virtues, is designed to be inwardly possessed, to "strike, pierce, [and] possess the sight of the soul" (p. 85). In Sidney's words, the poet's image is "planted . . . in the imagination" (p. 92) and "worn in the tablet of . . . memory" (p. 98). Poetry becomes popular in the sense that it may be possessed by any reader who delights in

a tale. Yet in being delighted and thus being led to see and possess poetry's images of ideal virtue, the reader is himself possessed.

These four characteristics of poetry embody the poetic which, I propose, defines the nature of the English literary Renaissance. They provided the common area to which the special interests of the Fellows in our seminar could be related. In reporting on the outcome of our discussions, I may claim that there has been broad agreement though also, I must confess, sharp dissension. I doubt that we would agree upon any joint communiqué on the nature of the Renaissance. Whether or not the characteristics I have cited are centrally related to the rebirth of English literature as I have claimed, it would seem from our discussions, surprisingly and paradoxically, that they are centrally related to its decline.

That poetry is fable or fiction is everywhere cited by Renaissance poets to justify their craft, from Touchstone's observation that "the truest poetry is the most feigning" to Jonson's judgment that "the Fable and Fiction is (as it were) the forme and Soule of any Poeticall worke, or Poeme" to Marston's rhetorical questions, "is not *Fiction* / The soule of Poesies inuention? / Is't not the forme? the spirit? and the essence?"²⁷ Once poetry was accepted as imaginative fiction, the poet was free to display himself not as a moralist but for what he really is, the maker of "an artful construct . . . designed to please on grounds of its formal excellence rather than by its likeness to the stuff of life."²⁸ He was regarded as a craftsman in words and praised for his "right artificiality" (in Harvey's phrase), for his "depth of deuise in the Inuention" (in Gascoigne's phrase), and especially for his wit. Thus Spenser is called "the miracle of wit," Shakespeare "the patterne of all wit," and Donne ruler of the "monarchy of wit."²⁹

One member of our seminar, Professor John King, is reading the extensive publication that followed the lifting of censorship by Protector Somerset in the mid-sixteenth century.³⁰ The "Edwardian Renaissance," however, if it was one, was only a "Renaissance aborted"—to borrow from the title of Professor Tetel's lecture—because it lacked a sense of fiction as an imaginative work obeying its own laws of decorum, following its own con-

ventions, and imitating its own literary models. The distinguishing characteristics of the Renaissance of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries emerge in the studies being undertaken by Dr. James McGregor and Professor Gary Hamilton on the use of Virgil as a literary model. The former has shown us how Spenser articulates and defines his role as a poet in relation to Virgil, the latter how Milton makes Virgil's hero demonic. By imitating earlier literature rather than Nature, both poets were able to create "another nature," a self-contained literary structure which exists as an imaginative fiction to delight, rather than simply to instruct, the reader.

Yet poetry's strength as fiction became its weakness against the prevailing countercry, "Truth is truest poesy." Although the work of the "right poet" was designed to supplement man's nature without supplanting grace, it remained secular, and later in the seventeenth century confronted Cowley's unanswerable demand that it be baptized in the Jordan.³¹ Sidney sums up his defense by claiming poetry to be full of "virtue-breeding delightfulness." In the strident religious temper of the seventeenth century, however, approval of the first part of that phrase failed to counter the suspicions aroused by the second. In place of secular poetry in which delight served a religious purpose, poetry became either secular, as in Carew's amatory verse, or religious, as in Herbert's lyrics which seek to "Ryme thee to good. . . / And turn delight into a sacrifice."

By delighting the reader in order to move him to virtuous action, the poet was freed from the drab didactic function to which earlier he had been confined; in so doing, however, he was committed to the reforming role of rhetoric. The radically rhetorical nature of Renaissance poetry remains its most distinguishing feature, one that has been discussed by modern critics ever since Rosemond Tuve's study of *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery* appeared in 1947.³² Within our own seminar the rhetoric of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* has been analyzed by Professor Elizabeth Hageman. That subject is not now, as once it was, "the naming of parts." For almost any Renaissance poem, as Professor Hageman has shown us, the rhetorical complexity in

relation to the logic provides the essential means for understanding the argument. Again, however, the processes associated with birth led to decline. Since rhetoric, in Bacon's definition, is the application of the reason to the imagination for the better moving of the will, poetry became exposed to the traditional distrust of the imagination because of its association with the passions. Although poetry seeks to move men to virtuous action not through arousing passion but only through bringing self-knowledge which makes such action possible, it remains committed, however indirectly, to action in this world. In *The Dove* (1613) Richard Zouche distinguishes Spenser, whose "Morall, and Heroicall matter" is given to us "for vse and action," from Du Bartas, whose "Naturall and Diuine" matter is "for study and meditation."³³ The implied gap between nature and grace proved fatal to the synthesis that Sidney hoped to maintain for English poetry when he set the right poet apart both from the divine poet and from the merely moral poet.³⁴

The poetic that required poetry to be visual and visionary is illustrated everywhere in Renaissance poetry in the use of picture, emblem, and iconography, and in the emphasis on pageantry, triumph, spectacle, and masque. That poetry is a "speaking picture" is perhaps the most common term in Renaissance poetics, although only recently has our understanding of its "speaking pictures" been illuminated, chiefly—one must admit—by art historians. Professor Leigh Winser has demonstrated to us the importance of the visual element in Skelton's major poems, the festive gathering of the various arts which shapes his poems into a pageant or triumph.³⁵ Like the Edwardian writers, however, Skelton stands alone. At his time there was no poetic to sustain a "singing school." When it came, it promoted a poetry that moved the reader by its "pictures" but again aroused the latent Puritan distrust of all images.

That reading is an act of possessing a poem inwardly explains why Renaissance poets endeavor to involve the reader wholly, immediately, and profoundly. To the power of eloquence to inform the reason and move the will, poetry adds the sensuous pic-

tures which appeal to the heart and inhabit the memory in order to move the whole man. In our seminar Professor Edward Jacobs has been considering the memory tradition in the Renaissance, specifically how certain poems were constructed as a configuration of images designed to be remembered as a unified whole by the reader. For Sidney and his circle, the poet's memorable and wonder-evoking images appealed through the will to the reader's "erected wit," that remnant of his original innocence. Reading becomes recollection, the act of remembering what man once was and still should be. On the principle that it is easier to hang a man than change him, there are, of course, easier ways to move the infected will and so reform nature.³⁶ Chiefly there is exhortation, whether from the pulpit or the printed page, which addresses the guilty rather than the innocent reader, moving him by admonition rather than by delight.

In contrast, the English literary Renaissance was sustained by a belief in nurture, holding that men are fashioned rather than born, and by the belief that nature complements grace, which, in turn, perfects nature. It was sustained also by the belief that delight is natural to man, and that eloquence is allied to wisdom. Perhaps these beliefs depended on remaining unrealized, for once the literature was written it assumed the burden of time. As Professor Bruce Henricksen has shown us, the late sixteenth century brought a new sense of time: poets became increasingly aware of the need to redeem time. In theory, poetry delights man in order to move him to virtue; in fact, it may corrupt him by arousing delight for its own sake. Greville and Daniel, who belonged to Sidney's circle, lived long enough for the one to conclude that poetry cannot "mend our states" for it "hath no power to binde," and the other to claim that "it is not bookes, but onely that great booke of the world and the all-ouerspredding grace of heauen that makes men truly iudiciall."³⁷ The faith in nurture, which sustained the Renaissance, was itself sustained by Christian humanism and by the Anglican compromise. The one was exposed to the dangers of internal contradictions and competing humanisms, and the other to the weaknesses of any compromise.

Both were shattered by the reforming zeal of the Puritans, for whom Nature and all its works remained radically opposed to Grace. Dr. Joseph Gibaldi of our seminar, who is writing the life of Philip Massinger, attributes Massinger's failure as a dramatist in part to the harshly Puritan age which required that he teach directly rather than delight. The end and working of poetry to ravish the reader to goodness, even allowing that it may do so, pales beside evangelical "catastrophic conversion."³⁸ In the Puritanism of the later seventeenth century, the religious function given poetry by Sidney and his circle was taken over by preaching, which, as C. S. Lewis notes, became "an indispensable, almost the only, means of grace."³⁹

As interpreted by Arthur Barker, the English literary Renaissance is a response to "all the tensions [of the age]—religious, philosophical, ethical, political, social, economic," tensions which he describes as "extending through the extremes of one term toward mysticism and Puritan rigorism and of the other to naturalism and libertinism."⁴⁰ I see that Renaissance more simply as a response to the fresh challenge brought by the Reformation and the revival of learning to redefine man's relation to nature. How may man regain his lapsed power to "subdue nature"? Reformed religion offered conversion, the purification of man's spiritual nature, at the expense of separating the orders of nature and grace. The revival of learning, seen in the new science, promised the conquest of external nature, at the expense of separating man from nature, as C. S. Lewis has noted:

By reducing Nature to her mathematical elements it substituted a mechanical for a genial or animistic conception of the universe. . . . The result was dualism rather than materialism. The mind, on whose ideal constructions the whole method depended, stood over against its object in ever sharper dissimilarity.⁴¹

The unholy alliance of religion and science, or Protestantism and capitalism, subdued Nature by exploiting it, at the expense, as we now realize, of polluting it. Sidney offers poetry as the only means to link man and nature, to have man absorb nature with-

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out being absorbed by it. Accordingly, he speaks of the poet "having all, from Dante's heaven to his hell, under the authority of his pen" (p. 89). It was his dream, and that of other Renaissance English writers, that poet and reader alike might succeed in subduing Nature by possessing poetry and being possessed by it.

Notes

1. F. R. Leavis, *Revaluation* (London, 1936), p. 11.
2. In *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery* (Chicago, 1947).
3. Smith, "The Metaphysic of Love," in *Discussions of John Donne*, ed. Frank Kermode (Boston, 1962), p. 150.
4. Patrick Cruttwell, "The Love Poetry of John Donne: Pedantique Weedes or Fresh Invention?" in *Metaphysical Poetry*, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies 11 (New York, 1970), p. 28.
5. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 247.
6. *SP*, 40 (1943), 219, 220. Ferguson observes "the notable lack in English scholarship of conceptual generalizations about the Renaissance in England and the resulting unconscious traditionalism which has dominated so much work in that field" (p. 354).
7. "The Modern Study of Renaissance English Literature: A Critical Survey," *MLQ*, 26 (1965), 151.
8. C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954), p. 55.
9. Levin, "English Literature of the Renaissance," in *The Renaissance: A Reconsideration of the Theories and Interpretations of the Age*, ed. Tinsley Helton (Madison, 1961), p. 133.
10. Hale, "The Renaissance Label," in *Background to the English Renaissance*, ed. J. B. Trapp (London, 1974), p. 31.
11. Barker, "An Apology for the Study of Renaissance Poetry," in *Literary Views*, ed. Carroll Camden (Chicago, 1964), pp. 31, 33.
12. See E. M. W. Tillyard, *The English Renaissance: Fact or Fiction?* (Baltimore, 1952).
13. Lewis, p. 56.
14. Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (Oxford, 1904), I, 239.
15. Harvey, *Pierce's Supererogation*, in Smith, II, 260.
16. Dedication to *Cleopatra*, in *Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (rpt. New York, 1963), III, 26-27.
17. Epistle to *Philotas*, in *Works*, III, 102.
18. See Richard F. Hardin, *Michael Drayton and the Passing of Elizabethan England* (Lawrence, Kan., 1973).
19. In the account of Sidney's poetic that follows, I draw upon some arguments and phrases in my *Sir Philip Sidney: A Study of His Life and Works* (Cambridge, 1977).
20. *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973), p. 77. Subsequent page references in the text are to this edition.
21. Woodhouse, "Nature and Grace in *The Faerie Queene*," *ELH*, 16 (1949), 195.
22. The Renaissance distinction between the two levels of nature is noted by Northrop Frye, *Fables of Identity: Studies in Poetic Mythology* (New York, 1963), pp. 39, 58, 72, 117, 122.
23. *Of Education*, in *Complete Prose Works*, ed. Don M. Wolfe et al. (New Haven, 1953-), II, 366-367. In *Elementarie*, Richard Mulcaster writes: "the end of education . . . is to help natur vnto hir perfection, which is, when all hir abilities be perfit in their habit" ([London, 1582], p. 28). See Frye, p. 39.
24. Anthony Esler, *The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation*

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(Durham, N. C., 1966), p. 59, argues that the failure of the much-admired Christian humanist education contributed to the spiritual alienation of the younger generation in the 1560's.

25. The influence on Sidney of Amyot's "Preface" in North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* (1579) is traced by Geoffrey Shepherd in his edition of the *Apology* (London, 1965) and has been freshly argued by Elizabeth Story Donno, "Old Mouse-eaten Records: History in Sidney's *Apology*," *SP*, 72 (1975), 275-298.

26. See Andrew D. Weiner, "Moving and Teaching: Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* as a Protestant Poetic," *JMRS*, 2 (1972), 259-278.

27. Jonson, *Discoveries*, in *Works*, ed. Herford and Simpson, VIII (Oxford, 1947), 635; Marston, *Certaine Satyres* (IV.87-89), in *Poems*, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool, 1961), p. 83.

28. Tuve, p. 25.

29. Harvey, *Four Letters*, in Smith (II, 234); Gascoigne, *Certaine Notes of Instruction*, in Smith (I.48); Nashe, Preface to Green's *Menaphon*, in *Works*, ed. McKerrow (London, 1905), III, 323; Leonard Digges, prefatory verse to Shakespeare, *Poems* (1640); and for the praise of Donne, Carew's "Elegie upon the Death of . . . Donne," in which he praises him as "a King, that rul'd as hee thought fit / The universall Monarchy of wit" (*Poems*, ed. Rhodes Dunlap [Oxford, 1949], p. 74).

30. See John N. King, "Freedom of the Press, Protestant Propaganda, and Protector Somerset," *HLQ*, 40 (1976), 1-9; and "Robert Crowley's Editions of *Piers Plowman*: A Tudor Apocalypse," *MP*, 73 (1976), 342-352.

31. Abraham Cowley, Preface to *Poems*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 12-14. See *Davideis*, Bk. I (p. 243): "Thou, Eternal Word, hast call'd forth Me / Th' Apostle, to convert that World to Thee; / T' unbind the charms that in slight Fables lie, / And teach that Truth is truest Poesie." See William Nelson, *Fact or Fiction: The Dilemma of the Renaissance Storyteller* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973).

32. See especially *The Rhetoric of Renaissance Poetry from Wyatt to Milton*, ed. Thomas O. Sloan and Raymond B. Waddington (Berkeley, 1974). Rejection of the alliance of rhetoric and poetry is freshly argued by Russell Fraser, *The Dark Ages and the Age of Gold* (Princeton, 1973), and O. B. Hardison, Jr., "The Orator and the Poet: The Dilemma of Renaissance Humanism," in *Toward Freedom and Dignity: The Humanities and the Idea of Humanity* (Baltimore, 1972), pp. 59-83.

33. Cited in *Spenser Allusions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. William Wells (Chapel Hill, 1971), p. 134.

34. My view that Du Bartas was the enemy of the English literary Renaissance (see *The Structure of Allegory in "The Faerie Queene"* [Oxford, 1961], pp. 124-125, 223) has been denied by E. R. Gregory, Jr., "Du Bartas, Sidney, and Spenser," *CLS*, 7 (1970), 437-449, and defended by Alan Sinfield, "Sidney and Du Bartas," *CL*, 27 (1975), 8-20.

35. See Leigh Winser, "The Bowge of Courte: Drama Doubling as Dream," *ELR*, 6 (1976), 3-39, and "The Garlande of Laurell: Masque Spectacular," *Criticism*, 19 (1977), 51-69.

36. Cf. Sir Thomas Elyot's claim that man must "put Wyll in to the prison of Drede vnder the streyte [strict] custodie of Remembraunce and Rayson" (*Of the Knowledge Which Maketh a Wise Man*); cited by John M. Major, *Sir Thomas Elyot and Renaissance Humanism* (Lincoln, Neb., 1964), p. 218. While the Renaissance was deeply suspicious of the imagination as "the most perilous of man's faculties" (Herschel Baker, *The Image of Man* [New York, 1961], p. 285), Frances A. Yates has argued persuasively that the change in attitude to the imagination is the basic difference between the Middle Ages and Renaissance: "From a lower power which may be used in memory as a concession to weak man who may use corporeal similitudes because only so he can retain his spiritual intentions towards the in-

telligible world, it has become man's highest power, by means of which he can grasp the intelligible world beyond appearances through laying hold of significant images" (*The Art of Memory* [Chicago, 1966], p. 230).

37. Greville, "A Treatise of Human Learning," in *Poems and Dramas*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough (Edinburgh, 1939), I, 181-182; Daniel, *A Defence of Rhyme* (Smith, II, 367).

38. Lewis, p. 33.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

40. Barker, pp. 35, 28.

41. Lewis, pp. 3-4.

*Rubens and Moretus**J. Richard Judson**University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

With the simultaneous emergence of Peter Paul Rubens as a designer of title pages and book illustrations and of Balthasar Moretus as the dominant creative force in the Plantin Press, the illustration of books took on a new dimension in seventeenth-century Antwerp.¹ Whereas the frontispieces of most sixteenth-century publications were purely decorative and only generally related to the text, those of the seventeenth century frequently had an allegorical significance closely related to the book's contents.² Although from time to time Rubens conceived title pages for a number of other publishers in Antwerp, Douai, and Roermond,³ a fundamental change in the concept of title-page design was brought about by the long and intimate association between Rubens and Balthasar Moretus.

The two men had known each other well before they first collaborated on the illustrations for Philip Rubens's *Electorum libri II*, published in 1608. In fact their friendship went back to childhood days when both attended the "Papenschool" or Latin School run by the layman Rumoldus Verdonck near Antwerp's Church of Our Lady. We know that Moretus studied there from 23 April 1586 to 22 October 1590, and that Rubens was enrolled from July, 1587, until August, 1590.⁴ It will be noted that both boys left Verdonck in 1590. Moretus went to study with Justus Lipsius in Louvain, and Rubens became a page at the Court of Margaret of Ligne-Arenberg, Countess of Lalaing.⁵ Moretus returned to Antwerp in 1594, when he started working for his father, Jan Moretus, at the Plantin Press,⁶ and Rubens came back to study painting in Antwerp around 1595, becoming a member of the Guild of St. Luke in 1598. It is not only because these two young

men went to the same school and lived nearby that one can suggest a long-standing friendship, but also because letters survive attesting to their feelings. On 3 November 1600, in a letter to Philip Rubens in Louvain, Moretus not only mentions knowing Peter Paul Rubens, but also describes his character as excellent and gentle.⁷ Philip, in a letter to Moretus written from Rome on 17 February 1606, closed with the words, "My brother, with whom I am living, sends you friendly greetings."⁸ Other letters from Philip in Rome to Moretus in Antwerp (e.g., those of 23 June and 9 September 1606) convey his brother's greetings to the publisher.⁹ This friendship between Moretus and the Rubens brothers continued throughout their lives. When Philip died on 28 August 1611, Peter Paul invited Moretus to write the inscription for Philip's tomb,¹⁰ and on the occasion of Peter Paul's death, some twenty-nine years later, Moretus wrote (between 19 and 23 June 1640) to Mathieu de Morgues that "truly our city has lost much by the death of Mr. Rubens, and me in particular, one of my best friends."¹¹

This close personal relationship underlay a fruitful and long-lasting professional association between the artist and the publisher.¹² The collaboration of these brilliant and fascinating men transformed the concept of the title page from a generally decorative and strongly architectural configuration governed by Renaissance and Mannerist principles to a free, open, seventeenth-century form containing subtle and complicated allegorical allusions to the text.¹³

Although Rubens made important innovations in his designs for both title pages and book illustrations, his main interest and profession were the more conventional kinds of painting. In fact, we have reason to think that he did not think much about his drawings and oil sketches for books during normal working hours, and that he wanted six months' notice for each commission because he would have time to reflect about it only on Sundays and holy days. This re-enforces our knowledge that his occupation was painting and that during the week he was totally involved with it. On the other hand, it was perfectly all right for him to make designs for books on the Sabbath and on religious

holidays, as this was not work but intellectual exercise. On one occasion Moretus, very likely attempting to discourage his client, wrote to Balthasar Cordier in Vienna (13 September 1630) that Rubens would produce designs during his normal working hours if he were paid 100 guilders per sheet.¹⁴ When one considers publication costs, 100 guilders for the design alone was prohibitive.¹⁵ Rubens was normally paid 20 guilders for a grisaille or drawing in-folio, 12 guilders for the same in-quarto, 8 guilders for in-octavo, and 5 for a design in-24^{mo}.¹⁶ From 1610 to 1618 Rubens received 280 guilders from Moretus for his title-page and book illustration designs, and from 1624 to 1640 he was paid 387 guilders.¹⁷

In general, Rubens executed carefully worked-out drawings which were then closely followed by the engraver. In at least one case, however, the design for the *Gelrische Rechten*, he hastily sketched a "first idea" and then cautiously drew it on the other side of the sheet (Fig. 1). In the more detailed drawing the artist reversed the figures so that they would be engraved as he had originally conceived them. Normally, though, the engraver would trace Rubens's design directly on the plate or execute his own drawing after the original one by Rubens. Probably the earliest preserved example of this second method is the drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London) made for Giacomo Bosio's *Crux Triumphans*. Although a large portion of the study is done with wash, it lacks the tonal gradations which are characteristic of Rubens's drawing style. Furthermore, the areas of wash are in strong contrast to the white paper, and this, along with the dull lines of the pen, creates a flat surface effect not in keeping with the sense of movement in space that one associates with Rubens. This is most evident when one compares the drawing with Rubens's 1617 design for Jacob de Bie's *Imperatorum . . . Numismata*, now in the British Museum (London). The latter is conceived in terms of light and shadow which impart a feeling of flux that is typical of Rubens's style. In his earlier designs of 1613 and 1614, also in London, for the *Opticorum Libri Sex* and the *Breviarium*, where line plays a strong role in articulating the forms, there is, nevertheless, a sense of space and atmosphere

not present in the 1617 sheet in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Furthermore, the architectural details are very carefully worked, resulting in a two-dimensional effect. This differs from the drawing made for the *Imperatorum . . . Numismata*, where the details are summarily indicated, imparting a sense of the three dimensional to the architecture. Because of its overly precise flatness, the *Crux Triumphans* drawing appears to have been thought of as a surface composition such as an engraver might cut into a plate. Consequently, it is most likely that this drawing was Cornelis Galle's translation of a now-lost Rubens design. This method of working can be documented by the two drawings linked with Herman Hugo's 1626 *Obsidio Bredana*, which were also designed by Rubens and engraved by Cornelis Galle. The very same stylistic differences noted above are present in these two drawings—one in London and the other in Dijon. The London drawing contains all of the painterly and three-dimensional characteristics of a Rubens, while the one in Dijon, which is traced for transfer, has those of an artist who thinks like an engraver.

Rubens not only executed drawings for his title pages, but he also made oil sketches for them. One may surmise that he sometimes turned to oil because it was more compatible with his painterly way of conceiving images, and because working in oil was quicker and easier for him than drawing. Careful drawings required more fully worked out forms, especially when they were done first in black chalk, then in wash, then re-enforced with pen, and finally, in many cases, given white chalk highlights. Also, the oil sketches were easier for the engraver to read when cutting the broad areas of light and shadow which were an essential part of Rubens's style.¹⁸

Unfortunately, the inscriptions on the engravings do not tell whether Rubens's original design was an oil sketch or a drawing. In the case of the earliest extant *modello* which was made for the 1628 *Catena sexaginta quinque graecorum patrum in S. Lucam*, and which is now in the collection of Count Seilern, there is no inscription, while of those inscribed "pinxit" only one oil sketch is preserved.¹⁹ There are also book titles signed "invent" for

which oil sketches exist.²⁰ Rubens composed these *modelli*, as he did the drawings, in two different ways. In one group the master rendered the composition in the opposite direction from the finished title page, and the engraver copied it directly on the plate,²¹ with or without intermediary drawing.²² The second type of Rubens oil sketch was painted in the same direction as the engraved frontispiece,²³ and there is evidence that the engraver or his assistant then executed a drawing which reversed Rubens's original composition and then transferred it directly to the plate. That this complicated procedure was actually followed can be demonstrated in the Rubens grisaille sketch in Antwerp (Fig. 3), the drawing connected with it in Leningrad (Fig. 4), and the engraving made for Van Meurs's printer's device which was used in several title pages. Rubens's *modello* (Fig. 3) was painted in the same direction as it would ultimately appear on the title page. Cornelis Galle (?) reversed the oil sketch in the design now in Leningrad (Fig. 4), which is indented for transfer and has all of the stylistic characteristics of a drawing conceived by an artist accustomed to working with the burin. Galle then traced the drawing on the plate, which appeared first, so far as I know, without the designer's or engraver's signatures on the title page of a book published by Van Meurs in 1631.²⁴ A year later "Pet. Paul Rubens pinxit" and "Corn. Galle sculpsit" were cut into the plate which was used on the frontispiece of M. Bonacina's *Opera Omnia*. This same process appears to have been used for Blosius's 1632 *Opera* and for Boonaerts's 1634 *In Ecclesiasticum Commentarius*, but in these cases only the drawings in the British Museum (London) and the Albertina (Vienna) are preserved. These sheets seem to have been copied by Cornelis Galle, or a member of his shop, after lost Rubens oil sketches, because they are conceived primarily in terms of light and shadow. In the case of the Vienna drawing, the artist has even added whitish-yellow oil paint to bring out the highlights. Both designs are characterized by obvious weaknesses in the rendering of the forms and by a flat, two-dimensional space, all of which suggests the engraver's drawing style discussed above. Because of the stylistic deficiencies inherent

in these two sheets, and because they were both indented for transfer, it is most likely that they are the engraver's working drawings made after now-lost oil sketches by Rubens.

Rubens not only painted very loose and free studies for title pages, but he also made drawings to simulate oil sketches which were then transferred directly to the plate by the engraver. This is very clear in his designs for Mudzaert's *De Kerckelycke Historie*, for F. Van Haer's *Annales ducum Brabantiae*, and for Cordier's *Opera S. Dionysii*. These drawings, indented for transfer (the last two contain oil paint), are very close stylistically in the broad handling of the medium to the oil sketch in the collection of Count Seilern. Another design, the one for Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana*, was also conceived as an oil sketch, with broad areas of light and shadow and with oil paint to accentuate the painterly quality. However, this example appears in the same direction as the print, and therefore a working drawing was made in the opposite direction and then transferred to the plate.

There are also several other drawings that were very likely executed after lost Rubens oil sketches by the engraver or someone from his entourage. These designs, like the one for Van Meurs now in Leningrad, can be connected with title pages inscribed "pinxit." In every case, beginning with the sheet in the Hermitage for Scribanius's 1624 *Politico-Christianus*, the drawings are executed in the manner of an engraver and not in the usual free and quick mode of Rubens. Although the style of the one in Leningrad is hard to connect with the ones used for prints signed "pinxit," those made for the Van Meurs device ca. 1630 (Fig. 4) for the *De Symbolis Heroicis* (1634) and for the *Poemata* (1634) all appear to be by the same hand—Cornelis Galle.²⁵ To this group one might add also the sheet illustrating the death of Seneca made for Lipsius's *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi*, the drawing for the first volume of Van Haer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae*, and the one for a print inscribed "inuenit," which was executed for the 1617 *Crux Triumphans*.

From this discussion it seems likely that Rubens made more oil sketches for title pages than has been thought. Unfortunately, the relevant documents are of no help with such an hypothesis

because they indicate that he was paid the same sum whether he painted or drew the design. However, because oil was the medium best suited to his way of thinking, Rubens must have made more oil sketches for his frontispieces than are preserved today.

Rubens continued to design book illustrations until late in his career when, because of lack of time or painful attacks of the gout,²⁶ he was unable to make such drawings and had Erasmus Quellin execute them under his supervision.²⁷

Upon completion of a design, whether by Rubens or under his direction, it was sent to the author or patron for approval. The latter in turn gave it back to Moretus with or without corrections. The publisher then sent the design to the engraver, who cut the plate and sent it back to Moretus for a final review. Then Moretus either returned the plate and design to the engraver for corrections or had it printed in Antwerp by Theodore Galle or, after his death in 1633, by his successor and son, Jan Galle.²⁸ The engraver made proofs which were corrected by the designer, the publisher, and the author. Counter proofs (n.b. Figs. 5, 6, 7) were also made in order to compare, with more precision, the print and the original composition.²⁹ Theodore Galle (and later his son Jan) then made the corrections in the plate and returned it and the original design to Moretus for the final printing.³⁰

The contents of the book designs created by Rubens or under his direction were not exclusively composed from his own ideas. In fact, the correspondence indicates that there was a close co-operation between the publisher, the author or patron, and the artist. In a number of cases Rubens scrupulously adhered to the dictates of Moretus and his patron or the author. The earliest preserved documents that demonstrate such adherence are the three designs worked out by Moretus for the frontispiece of the 1614 *Breviarium*.³¹ One of the three Moretus layouts was carefully followed by Rubens in his drawing for the title page preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Then, with the engraver in mind, Rubens drew Moretus's design exactly in reverse except for the two bottom-corner images. He departed from instructions by substituting flutes, a

lute, and organ pipes for the image Moretus had recommended for the bottom right—St. Cecilia playing the organ. In the bottom left corner, where Moretus had wished to have David playing on the harp, Rubens provided a harp and crown. Further documents inform us that sometimes from the very beginning the programs for the title page were worked out by the authors or patrons. For example, one reads the following in a letter of 22 January 1611, from Nicolas Rockox in Antwerp to Jacob de Bie in Brussels: "I have also delivered to M. Rubens the frontispiece of the *Moneta* to make a neat drawing of it."³² On 26 February 1611 Rockox wrote again to De Bie: "I send you what M. Rubens has designed for the frontispiece of your book. You can decide whether you will have it engraved by Cornelis Galle or do it yourself. In that case you will have to keep in mind what he has written next to the figure and take some beautiful head of Roma in the ring from the *Fasti* of Goltzius. The figure is solidly after the antique down to the feet."³³ One finds this same situation occurring between Balthasar Moretus and the humanist and public servant Jan van de Wouwer when working on the frontispiece for the latter's *Vita B. Simonis Valentini* (1614). In a letter of 1613 the former writes to the latter that "the image which in your presence I recently gave to Galle is now in the hands of our most graceful Rubens. I hope that it will come out of it with a richer decoration and a more ingenious composition, so that it can also be engraved in copper with considerable art."³⁴ On 4 November 1621 Moretus wrote to Rome, to Father Francisco Longo a Coriolano, the author of the *Summa Conciliorum*, that he could do Moretus a favor by suggesting some material to decorate the frontispiece of the book and the image of the title.³⁵

This method of following the author's or patron's wishes concerning the contents of title pages designed or done under Rubens's direction continued throughout the latter's career, as is evident in the correspondence of 1638 between B. de los Rios in Brussels and Moretus in Antwerp,³⁶ and in the numerous letters exchanged between Moretus and Philippe Chifflet, the Chaplain for the Court in Brussels,³⁷ when working out the frontispieces

for Jean Boyvin's *Le siège de la Ville de Dole* (1638) and for Chifflet's *Concilii Tridentini Canones et Decreta* (1640).

Rubens certainly did not read carefully all of the books for which he made title pages. He translated the ideas of his publishers, authors, and patrons into a monumental style very closely related to that of his own mythological and allegorical paintings. But it was not Rubens alone who was responsible for the design of these magnificently conceived title pages. Many elements had to be considered when working out such drawings, and it was Balthasar Moretus who kept the balance between the artistic concept of the title pages themselves and their relationship to the typography. To Moretus it was extremely important that the design and typography for a title page be neatly and closely coordinated. This is clearly revealed early in his career. In a letter dated 21 December 1615 to Giacomo Bosio in Milan concerning the title page for the *Crux Triumphans*, Moretus writes, "I find that the one engraved in Rome, which I received, is not well adapted to a good format of the page."³⁸ Moretus's correspondence during the 1630's indicates that this problem of the aesthetic coherency of title pages was continuously on his mind. On 20 June 1631 he wrote to the Jesuit Matthaeus Mairhofer:

I cannot entirely approve of the design for your title page. The revisions take up so much space that there is scarcely place remaining for the heart of the subject. The words of the title, printed in rather large letters and suitably decorative, must no less emerge than the small figures. Therefore, the title page is to be remade and engraved a second time out of respect for the Beautiful.³⁹

A little over a month later, on 31 July 1631, Moretus wrote to Mairhofer stating, among other things, that he was not yet happy about the title page:

in spite of the luster of the title page which I require, I wish a greater majesty for Wisdom. She appears in the clothes of a woman and not in those of a virgin. I want Pallas armed but a Christian and godly Pallas with a shield of Faith. Rubens, the Apelles of our century,

agrees with my judgment in this. For the rest of the plate, I shall have it done to conform with the dignity of the Plantin Press. If the plate can be improved or renewed or if an entirely new one must be cut, this will be done at my expense and not yours. . . .⁴⁰

From the very beginning Rubens's work was most often engraved by Cornelis Galle, although at least eight other engravers executed title pages after Rubens's designs.⁴¹ In a letter from Moretus to B. van Haeften in Affligem dated 28 August 1634 the publisher writes, "I shall have the title engraved by Cornelis Galle; Rubens surely wishes to have his drawings engraved above all by his hand."⁴² This letter would appear to suggest that Galle was Rubens's favorite engraver. Perhaps he was, but perhaps also Galle was Moretus's choice because of family ties. In 1598 Balthasar Moretus's sister, Catherine, married Theodore Galle, Cornelis's brother.⁴³ Beginning in 1600 and continuing until 1694, almost all the engravings of the Plantin Press were cut by the Galle studio.⁴⁴ Cornelis's earliest plates executed after Rubens's designs were published in his brother's 1608 *Electorum libri II*. After this early endeavor, Rubens's plates were made by Theodore Galle until 1615, when Cornelis replaced his brother as the main engraver for Rubens's book illustrations.⁴⁵ This association lasted throughout the latter's life. Cornelis Galle moved to Brussels in 1636, and he and Moretus could no longer simply discuss their book illustration problems but had to write each other.⁴⁶ Most fortunately, a part of this correspondence still exists, and from it we can deduce something of the Moretus-Rubens-Galle working relationship during the last three years of Rubens's life. Undoubtedly it was similar to their earlier association, but with one important difference. During these last three years Rubens suffered from attacks of gout and had difficulty designing small images and retouching them after they had been cut by the engraver.⁴⁷ Consequently he had another artist, Erasmus Quellin, make the drawings under his supervision.⁴⁸ The correspondence between Moretus and Cornelis Galle, dating from July to September, 1637, concerning the title page for M. de Morgues's *Diverses pièces* (1637), tells the reader a number of interesting facts about the cooperative evolution of this title

page. On 14 July 1637 Moretus wrote to Galle saying that he was enclosing the title-page design and the copper upon which it was to be cut. He also said that, if there were questions about the drawing, Galle should please contact the patrons Verdier or St. Germain, both of whom were in Brussels.⁴⁹ The letter concludes with the statement that Galle should forward to him the finished plate and the drawing, after which he would be paid.⁵⁰

On 18 August 1637 Galle wrote to Moretus saying that he was sending him the finished title page and that St. Germain had approved it. Galle added that the letters must be finished and that he awaited further orders.⁵¹ Several weeks later, on 6 September, a letter from Galle to Moretus stated that the former had corrected the plate and that he had shown the letters to St. Germain. They were approved and subsequently cut by Galle's son.⁵² Another communication from Galle to Moretus (10 September 1637) mentions that nothing is printed well in Brussels and consequently Galle has had to send to Antwerp for prints made after his plates.⁵³ The Galle-Moretus correspondence over the title page for J. Boyvin's *Le siège de la Ville de Dole* (1638) informs us that the patron, Chifflet, has slightly changed the inscriptions, that the figure of the king must be altered, and that Galle can do this in Brussels.⁵⁴

This latter exchange of letters dealing with the Boyvin title page also reveals that when the print-maker completed his plate, he returned the drawing and the finished title-page plate to the publisher. In a letter of 9 April 1638 Galle tells Moretus that he has made the corrections on the plate which were ordered by Chifflet and De Morgues.⁵⁵ Galle also, in the case of the title page for Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum* (1645), sent the finished title page to Moretus and asked him to send a proof to the designer. Afterwards Galle offered to correct it according to Moretus's wishes and suggested that Moretus order the letters.⁵⁶ In still another case Moretus writes on 29 August 1637 to M. de Morgues in Brussels,⁵⁷ telling him that he has returned the frontispiece to Galle because the "painter" (designer), Erasmus Quellin, wants to make some corrections.⁵⁸ Moretus goes on to say that he has printed the inscriptions and the mottoes of the title and placed

them in the position in which they must be cut and that Galle's son or Charles de Mallery is to cut them.

It is clear from such documents that authors and patrons alike felt that a frontispiece by Rubens enhanced the beauty and value of a book, and that for the publisher it was not too expensive.⁵⁹ However, a Rubens frontispiece by no means assured the popularity of a book. Publications like B. Bauhuis's, B. Cabillian's, and C. Malapert's *Poemata* (1634) and Biderman's *Heroum Epistolae* (1634) seem to have been best sellers, as Plantin printed 4,000 copies of each and they were sold to the public for 8 and 10 stivers, respectively.⁶⁰ In the case of the former, a letter of 1 August 1617, from Bauhuis in Louvain to Moretus in Antwerp, says that the earliest edition is in great demand, that it should be reprinted before the Frankfurt Book Fair, and that "Rubens with his divine gifts will invent something for the first page which is becoming to my poetry."⁶¹

On the other hand, Moretus published books which he knew would not sell in great numbers even though they contained Rubens illustrations. On 15 June 1623 the publisher wrote to Chifflet in Brussels that "even the works (you will be surprised) of that former leader of wisdom and literature, I mean Justus Lipsius, are bought only by a small number of people."⁶² Consequently a limited edition of three hundred was printed,⁶³ and the price per volume was extremely high—45 guilders on common paper and 54 guilders on better paper.⁶⁴ It is known that Moretus did not always undertake all of the financial risks himself, and in a number of cases we have evidence of financial support from the author or some rich "Maecenas." In his letter of 15 June 1623 quoted in part above, Moretus tells Chifflet that he has printed Augustinus Mascardi's *Silvarum Libri IV* (1622) "not so much with my money as with the author's, since he bought 500 copies of the book."⁶⁵ The Plantin accounts add more details. On 8 September 1621 Moretus received 300 guilders on account from Mascardi's intermediary, Charles Cotta, for 500 copies of the former's book. He also says that he will pay for the image of the title page, and that a second intermediary, Raphael Rubano, will underwrite the remainder of the expenses after the

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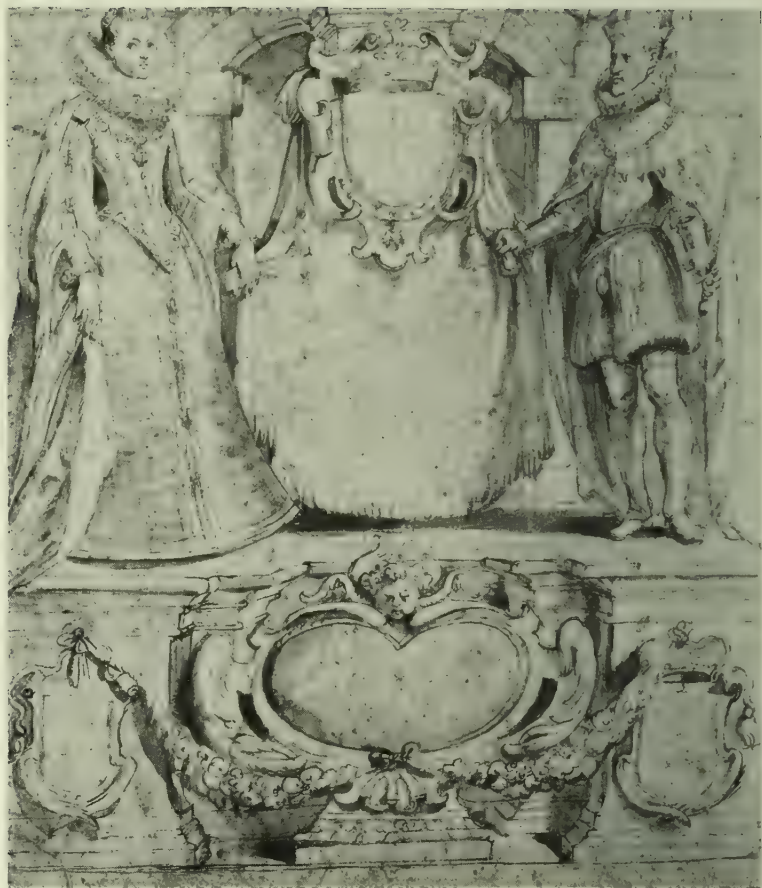


Fig. 1. Peter Paul Rubens, Sketch for Title Page of *Gelrische Rechten* (Roermond, 1620), Coll. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, Amsterdam; black pencil, partially pressed through from front to back, 213 x 186 mm., verso.

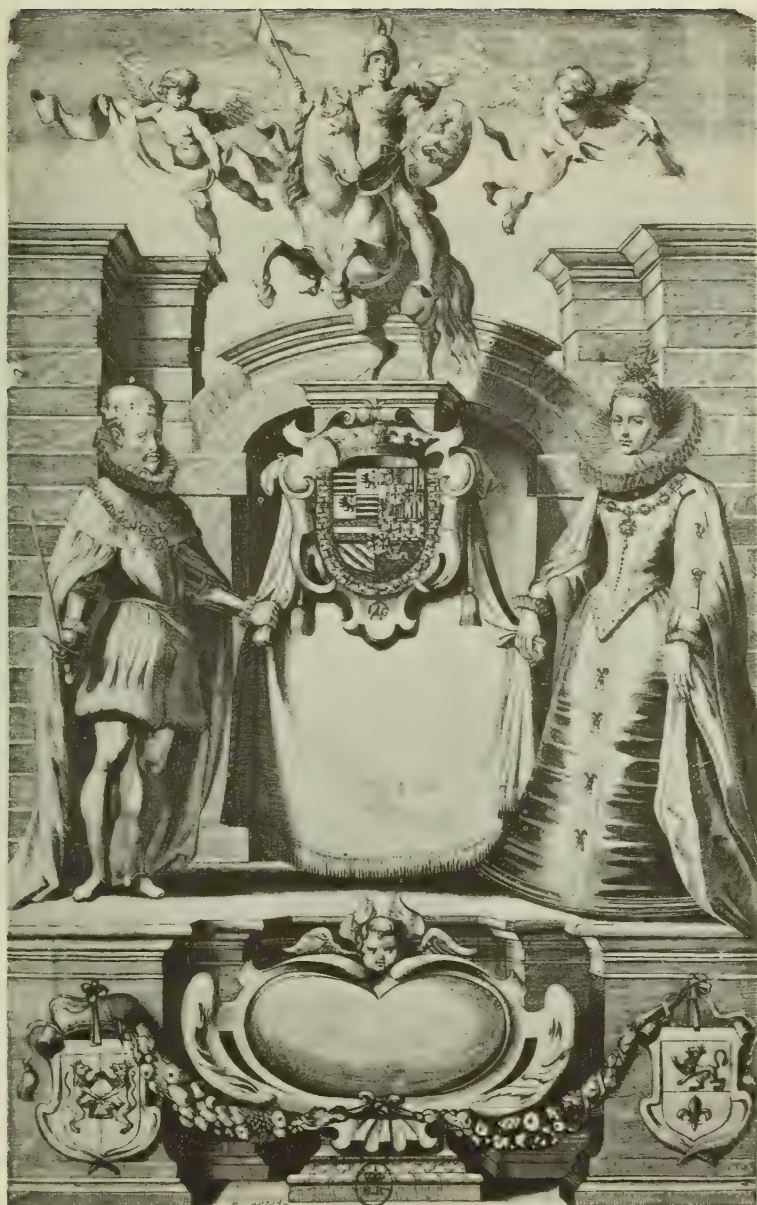


Fig. 2. Proof Print of Title Page for *Gelrische Rechten* (Roermond, 1620), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; 298 x 180 mm., margin.



Fig. 3. Peter Paul Rubens, Printer's Device for Jan van Meurs, Grisaille Sketch, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, Inv. No. 59; oil on panel; 19 x 20.5 cms.



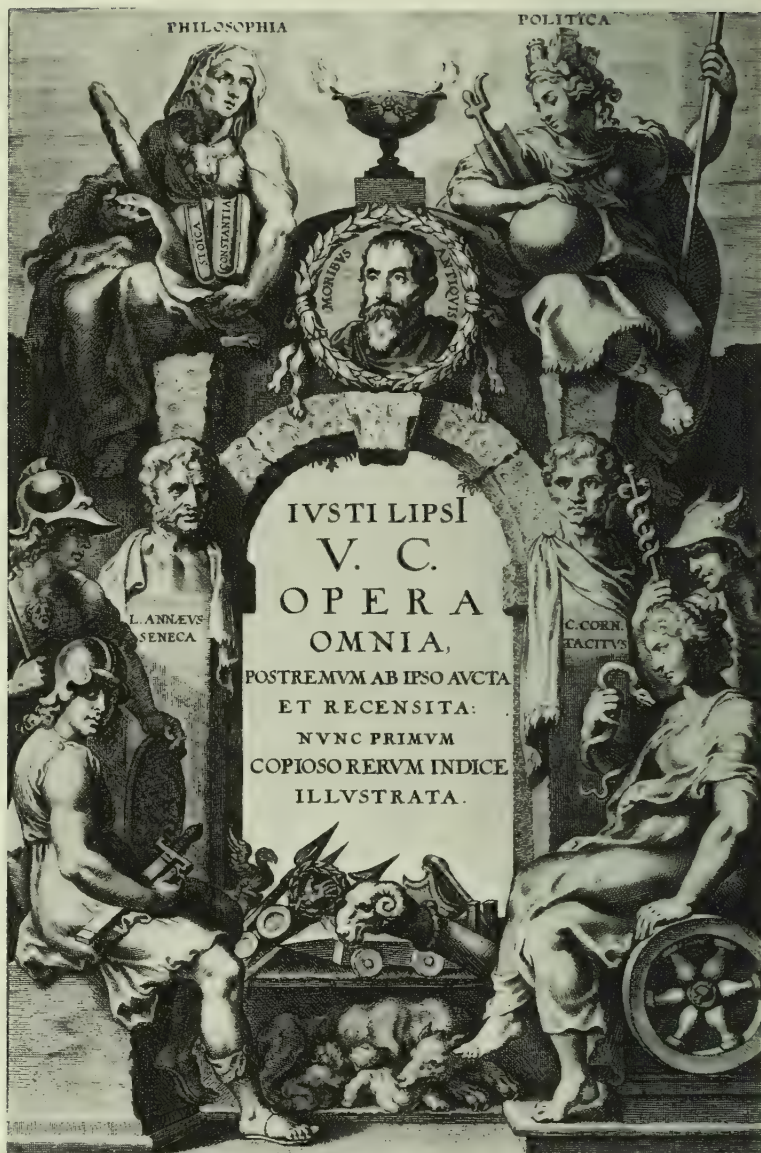
Fig. 4. Cornelis Galle (?) after Peter Paul Rubens, Printer's Device for Jan van Meurs, Hermitage, Leningrad; pen and brown ink over preliminary drawing in black chalk; 130 x 150 mm., traced for transfer.



Fig. 5. Peter Paul Rubens (?), Drawing for Title Page of Justus Lipsius, *Opera Omnia*, I (Antwerp, 1637), Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp; pen and brown ink, brown-gray wash, and black chalk, horizontal fold in the middle; 309 x 201 mm., traced for transfer.



Fig. 6. Counter Proof, Title Page for Justus Lipsius, *Opera Omnia*, I (Antwerp, 1637), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; 314 x 197 mm.



ANTVERPIÆ EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA BALTHASARIS MORETI. M. DC. XXXVII.
CVM PRIVILEGIIS CÆSAREO ET PRINCIPVM BELGARVM.

Fig. 7. Title Page for Justus Lipsius, *Opera Omnia*, I (Antwerp, 1637); 327 x 203 mm.

book has been printed.⁶⁶ One thousand copies of the title were printed and paid for on 7 January 1622,⁶⁷ and the book sold for 1 guilder and 2 stivers.⁶⁸ In still another case Antonius van Winghe, Abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Liessies, made on 12 June 1631, through his intermediary, M. Brant, Canon of Brussels, an advance payment of 1,800 guilders—1,200 guilders for copies of L. Blossius's *Opera* (1632) and 600 guilders for other books.⁶⁹ Blossius's book eventually sold for 8 guilders and 10 stivers, or 10 guilders and 10 stivers when printed on thinner white paper and 11 guilders when printed on heavier white paper.⁷⁰ In one instance the author, B. de los Rios, agreed to pay for the drawing and the cutting of the frontispiece for his book entitled *De Hierarchia Mariana* (1641).⁷¹ It seems, however, that Moretus had trouble with De los Rios. On 9 March 1639 he wrote to Cornelis Galle in Brussels saying, among other things, that he would add what the author would not pay.⁷²

Unlike the preceding examples, which indicate only a partial subsidy by patron or author, there is one clearly documented case where the entire book was paid for by a wealthy and influential backer. This work, M. de Morgues's *Diverses pièces* (1637), was political in content and espoused the cause of Queen Marie de Médicis over Cardinal Richelieu. The documents of the detailed correspondence between the author in Brussels and the publisher in Antwerp mention not only the size of the edition but for the first time the total cost of producing the book. On 13 December 1637 Moretus wrote to De Morgues saying that the book was finished and that he had printed 1,200 copies. Furthermore, he observed that due to the high cost of the paper and the frontispiece, the books could not be sold for less than 12 guilders each. Moretus went on to say that since the author and his brother had assured him that Her Majesty would purchase the entire edition, he had counted on this and looked forward to receiving his payment "all at once." The publisher further stated that he had advanced all of the expenses and that he must pay his workers each week.⁷³ That the entire affair ended successfully is attested by the receipt of payment signed by Moretus in Antwerp, 6 March 1638.⁷⁴ Moretus was paid 12,000 guilders during the

months of January, February, and March for having printed 1,000 copies of the *Diverses pièces* and for having sent 100 of them to M. de Saint-Germain. Moretus also had to deliver 900 more to Her Majesty. Although Moretus printed 1,275 examples of the title page, only 1,200 were used for the actual publication.⁷⁵ In this case and on other occasions, the publisher printed a small overrun of the title page, about 25 to 75, which suggests that more books were printed than actually stated in the documents. Could these have been unbound reserve?

The general price of books containing Rubens's illustrations varied according to content, size, number of illustrations, and quality of paper. Many books were printed on two or three different grades of paper. In fact, grade of paper was a major factor in determining the price of a book. For example, the 1617 *Crux Triumphans* sold for 6 guilders and 10 stivers when printed on common paper, for 7 guilders on median paper, and for 7 guilders and 10 stivers on white paper—"fin . . . de Lyon."⁷⁶ Lipsius's 1637 *Opera Omnia* cost 45 guilders when printed on "common paper" and 54 guilders on "better paper." If one wanted this volume bound with Lipsius's edition of Seneca and Tacitus, one paid 60 guilders for "common paper" and 72 guilders for "better paper."⁷⁷ In the case of the *Missale* published in 1613 and in 1616, it was possible to buy the work with fewer illustrations and poorer paper at a considerable savings. The 1613 *Missale* was offered to the public for 7 guilders when printed on "common paper" and containing one engraving, the title page. For 4 more guilders one could have it completely illustrated on the same paper, and for 12 guilders and 10 stivers it was available fully illustrated and printed on better paper.⁷⁸ The 1616 *Missale* was priced at 7 guilders when printed on ordinary paper and illustrated with the engraved title page and 10 vignettes. Eleven guilders purchased a volume with the same type of paper but with 21 engravings, while for 12 guilders one received the same number of illustrations, but the paper was better.⁷⁹

Because the Plantin Press imported its paper from abroad,⁸⁰ and especially from France, its availability sometimes was affected by weather conditions and political considerations which

caused serious delays in publication. For example, F. van Haer's *Annales ducum Brabantiae* was held up for five months because of the scarcity of paper caused by the severe winter of 1622 in Lorraine.⁸¹ At least five books were seriously delayed in the 1630's because of the war in Lorraine. On 26 January 1633 Moretus wrote to Van Haeften in Affligem saying that he had postponed the images for the *Regia Via Crucis* and the printing of Cordier's *Opera S. Dionysii* because "some of the paper mills are destroyed and the craftsmen have disappeared."⁸² Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* and Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum* seem to have been ready for the press in 1635, but a letter from Moretus to the publisher H. Barentsen in Amsterdam, dated 19 December 1635, states that "through the lack of paper, I have had to stop printing . . . [Lipsius] and the Emperors . . . which remain to complete the *Opera* of Goltzius . . . ; I hope to finish the *Opera* of Lipsius towards the end of next January."⁸³ The former eventually appeared in 1645, and the latter in 1637.

In conclusion, Balthasar Moretus was certainly the main organizing power in the Plantin Press, and through his long and close friendship with Peter Paul Rubens he involved the artist in the art of the book. Moreover, the surviving letters and documents make it abundantly clear that the content and aesthetic makeup of the title pages produced by Rubens for the Plantin House were done under the close supervision of Moretus. Moretus seems to have worked out the title-page layouts, with or without the help of authors or patrons, and Rubens then followed them, creating his ingenious figures, shapes, and forms. It is also very likely that Rubens's designs were frequently copied by Cornelis Galle or one of his colleagues before being transferred to copper plates. In addition, if one accepts the attribution to Cornelis Galle or his shop of a number of the drawings heretofore given to Rubens, we may conclude that many of Rubens's original designs were probably not drawings but sketches in oil.

Notes

1. This lecture is a somewhat modified version of a portion of my introductory text in the publication by J. Richard Judson and Carl Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title Pages, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, Part XXI, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1977), cited hereafter as Judson-Van de Velde. The bracketed numbers given in references here to Judson-Van de Velde indicate documents transcribed and translated in that work.
2. L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, II (Amsterdam, 1972), 214-216. Hereafter cited as Voet, II.
3. Rubens also made title-page designs for Jan van Meurs, Hieronymus Verdussen, Jacob de Bie, Jan Cnobbaert, Martin Nutius, Jan van Keerbergen, Jan Hompes, H. Aertsens, and G. van Wolsschaeten.
4. M. Rooses, "Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus," *Rubens-Bulletijn, Jaarboeken der ambtelijke Commissie ingesteld door den Gemeenteraad der Stad Antwerpen voor het uitgeven der Bescheiden betreffende het leven en de Werken van Rubens*, 1 (Antwerp, 1882), 207-210. Hereafter cited as Rooses.
5. L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, I (Amsterdam, 1969), 208. Hereafter cited as Voet, I.
6. Voet, I, 208.
7. *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres publiés, traduits, annotés par Charles Ruelens (I), par Max Rooses et feu Charles Ruelens (II-VI)* (Antwerp, 1887-1909), I, 1. Hereafter cited as Rooses-Ruelens, I-VI.
8. Rooses-Ruelens, I, 306.
9. *Ibid.*, I, 334, 349.
10. Rooses, pp. 215-218, for Moretus's text, done in collaboration with Jan van de Wouwer.
11. Rooses, p. 219; Rooses-Ruelens, VI, 308.
12. Rubens not only had business dealings with Moretus concerning the designing of book illustrations, but, on at least one occasion, he sold books to the publisher. On 27 November 1630 Rubens sold 328 copies of Hubert Goltzius's *Graeciae Universae Numismata* . . . (1618) for 4,920 guilders and the plates for another 1,000 guilders to Moretus (see H. F. Bouchery-F. Van den Wijngaert, *P. P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche Huis* [Antwerp, 1941], p. 91, hereafter cited as Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert; and Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix III [108]). Rubens also made a number of paintings for Moretus, including the triptych of *The Resurrection of Christ*, which was for Jan Moretus's tomb. For further details about this and other works see Rooses, pp. 275, 276, 279, 281, 282, 284-292.
13. In a letter of 1 August 1617 from Bernardus Bauhuis to Moretus, we learn why at least one author was desirous of having such a title page for his book: "On the first page, my dear Moretus, many people would like to see some image. . . . It amuses the reader wonderfully, it attracts the buyer, it decorates the book, and it does not add much to the price" (Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix I [8]).
14. See letter of 13 September 1630, from Moretus to Corderius in Vienna (*ibid.*, Appendix I [53]).
15. For the documentation, see Voet, II, 223, 227, 228. For an idea of the value of the guilder in terms of wages paid in the printing business late in the sixteenth century, see the wage tables, *ibid.*, 336-338.
16. Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, pp. 113, 114. For a detailed discussion of formats, see Voet, II, 160-168, 526-561.

Rubens and Moretus

17. Boucher-Van den Wijngaert, p. 49, and Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix III [1, 2].
18. See, for example, the oil sketch in the Collection of Count A. Seilern (London) for the 1628 *Catena sexaginta quinque graecorum Patrum in S. Lucam*.
19. For example, the 1632 frontispiece for M. C. Sarbiewski, *Lyriconum Libri IV*.
20. See the one in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London) for the 1635 publication by Don Diego de Aldo y Gallart and the one in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge) for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*.
21. This method is demonstrated by oil sketches in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (Antwerp) for Sarbiewski's 1632 *Lyriconum Libri IV* and in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
22. Up until now I have been unable to find engraver's drawings in the same direction as Rubens's oil sketches.
23. Cf. Cordier's 1628 oil sketch in the collection of Count Seilern and the one for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Fitzwilliam Museum.
24. David van Mauden, *Speculum Aureum Vitae Moralis*.
25. Dr. Anne Marie Logan first suggested the notion that the drawing for M. Barberini's *Poemata* (1634), preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, was not by Rubens.
26. See Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix I [124].
27. See, for example, the letter from Philippe Chifflet in Brussels to Balthasar Moretus in Antwerp stating that "even if another painter draws it, it is sufficient that it should be under the direction of his hand. . ." (*ibid.*, Appendix I [25]); or the letter of 18 May 1639 from Moretus in Antwerp to B. de los Rios in Brussels, in which the former writes: "these days I have sent to Galle the image of the frontispiece which Quellin has drawn from the directives of Rubens" (*ibid.*, Appendix I [127]).
28. Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, pp. 70, 71.
29. Although the faces in the drawing (Fig. 5) are very expressive and in this way close to Rubens, there are weaknesses in the design which suggest that it was made by the engraver, Cornelis Galle. The flat, surface-like arrangement of the forms lacks the sense of movement and robustness that we associate with Rubens. The lines are repetitive, heavy, and precise, and the light and shaded areas do not merge but are clearly separated. These characteristics are those of a print maker, not an artist who conceives his work with the eye of a painter. Perhaps Rubens touched up the faces after Galle had copied a now-lost Rubens design for transfer to the plate.
30. For letters describing this in more detail see Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix I [39-42, 58-62, 65, 71-73, 82].
31. Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, p. 62, figs. 31, 32; W. Gs. Hellinga, *Copy and Print in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam, 1962), pp. 182, 183, Figs. 64-67.
32. Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix I [158].
33. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [160].
34. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [156].
35. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [100].
36. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [125-129].
37. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [21-43].
38. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [13].
39. Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, pp. 11, 12.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 12. For several more examples of Moretus's care for the frontis-

piece designs, see his letters to B. van Haeften in Affligem found in Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix I [83, 85].

41. Theodore Galle, Jan Collaert, Jacob de Bie, Michel Lasne, Charles de Malery, Jacob Neeffs, Lucas Vorsterman, Marinus van der Goes.

42. Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix I [83].

43. Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, p. 70; Voet, II, 206.

44. Voet, II, 206.

45. Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, p. 72.

46. One might add that Cornelis Galle very likely lived in Brussels from about 1602, the probable time of his return from Italy, until some time prior to 1610, when he was made a master in the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke. He married in Brussels in 1623 but did not live there until 1636. He then remained in Brussels until his death on 28 March 1650 (Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, pp. 73, 76).

47. Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix I [124].

48. Letters in *ibid.*, Appendix I [25, 38, 71, 127].

49. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [58].

50. A document of 11 July 1637 specifies that the copper for the title cost 4 guilders and 18 stivers (*ibid.*, Appendix III [89]).

51. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [60].

52. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [61].

53. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [62].

54. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [64].

55. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [65].

56. See letter of 9 September 1639 from Cornelis Galle in Brussels to Balthasar Moretus in Antwerp (*ibid.*, Appendix I [66]).

57. This letter is concerned with the frontispiece for M. de Morgues, *Diverses pièces pour la defense de la Royne Mere* (1637).

58. Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix I [113].

59. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [8, 37].

60. *Ibid.*, Appendix II [23, 26]; Appendix III [78, 82].

61. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [8].

62. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [17].

63. *Ibid.*, Appendix III [87].

64. *Ibid.*, Appendix II [30].

65. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [17].

66. *Ibid.*, Appendix III [100].

67. *Ibid.*, Appendix III [43].

68. *Ibid.*, Appendix II [13].

69. *Ibid.*, Appendix III [110].

70. *Ibid.*, Appendix II [21].

71. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [74].

72. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [69].

73. *Ibid.*, Appendix III [114].

74. *Ibid.*, Appendix IV [7].

75. *Ibid.*, Appendix III [91].

76. *Ibid.*, Appendix II [9]. For other examples where three grades of paper were used, see Appendix II [12, 21].

77. *Ibid.*, Appendix II [30].

78. *Ibid.*, Appendix II [2].

79. *Ibid.*, Appendix II [8]. See Voet, II, 379-388, for a detailed discussion of the importance of paper in determining the price of books printed in the sixteenth century.

80. Voet, II, 32 and *passim*.

Rubens and Moretus

81. See letter of 2 April 1622 from Moretus to Van Haer in Bree (Judson-Van de Velde, Appendix I [86]).

82. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [78]. Moretus refers here to his publication of the *Icones imperatorum romanorum* (1645).

83. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [6]. For other letters concerning these publications see Appendix I [121, 123].

Appendix

Seminars of the Eighth Session of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies

28 June—6 August 1976

I. SCRIPTS OF THE SCHOLASTIC PERIOD, 1100—1400

Senior Fellow: Dr. Leonard E. Boyle, Professor of Latin Palaeography and Diplomatics, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto (since 1956). Fellow of Royal Historical Society; Mediaeval Academy of America (Councillor, 1971–74). Author: *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of Its Medieval Holdings* (1972); “The *Oculus sacerdotis* of William of Pagula,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 5 (1955), 81–110; “Manuscripts and Incunabula in the Library of San Clemente, Rome,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 29 (1959), 206–227; “The Constitution *Cum ex eo* of Pope Boniface VIII,” *Mediaeval Studies*, 24 (1962), 263–302; “The Curriculum of the Faculty of Canon Law at Oxford in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century,” in *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus* (1964), pp. 135–162; “An Ambry of 1299 at San Clemente, Rome,” *Mediaeval Studies*, 26 (1964), 329–350; “Three English Pastoral *Summae* and a ‘Magister Galienus,’” *Studia Gratiana*, 11 (1967), 133–144; “The *Summa confessorum* of John of Freiburg,” in *St. Thomas Aquinas Commemorative Studies* (1974), pp. 245–268; “The Quodlibets of St. Thomas and Pastoral Care,” *Thomist*, 38 (1974), 232–256; “The *De regno* of St. Thomas and the Two Powers,” in *Essays in Honour of Anton C. Pegis* (1974), pp. 228–237, etc.

Description: The emergence and development of the “Gothic” script. The seminar surveyed the range of scripts in the period, with special attention to manuscripts carrying philosophical, theological, legal, and classical texts. Problems of the editing of these texts were also discussed.

Appendix

Fellows

- Uta-Renate Blumenthal (History, Vanderbilt University)
Michael J. Curley (English and Comparative Literature, University of Puget Sound)
Alvin E. Ford (Foreign Languages and Literatures, California State University at Northridge)
Karen Gould (Art, University of Texas)
Gregory G. Guzman (History, Bradley University)
John T. Marrone (History, University of New Mexico)
Kerry Edwards Spiers (History, University of Louisville)
Rosalie A. Vermette (French, Indiana University—Purdue University at Indianapolis)

II. THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL MIDDLE AGES IN EUROPE

Senior Fellow: Dr. Robert S. Lopez, Sterling Professor of History, Yale University. Taught successively in the universities of Genoa and Wisconsin, Brooklyn College, Columbia, and (from 1946) Yale; Chairman of Medieval Studies (1962–74); Guggenheim Fellow (1948–49); Fulbright Research Grant (1958–59); Senior Fellow, National Endowment for the Humanities (1967–68); Rockefeller Foundation Fellow (1972, 1974); Fellow, Mediaeval Academy, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Società Ligure di Storia Patria; UNESCO Committee on Urban History; editorial boards of *Speculum*, *Viator*, etc. Author: *Studi sull' economia genovese nel medio evo* (1936); *Storia delle colonie genovesi* (1938); *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (1955); *La prima crisi della banca di Genova, 1250–1259* (1956); *The Tenth Century: How Dark the Dark Ages?* (1959); *Naissance de l'Europe* (1962); *The Birth of Europe* (1967); *The Three Ages of the Italian Renaissance* (1970); *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages* (1971); *Su e giù per la storia di Genova* (1975); "European Merchants in the Medieval Indies," *Journal of Economic History*, 3 (1943), 164–184; "Italian Leadership in the Medieval Business World," *Journal of Economic History*, 8 (1948), 63–68; "An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages," *Speculum*, 28 (1953), 1–43; "Market Expansion: The Case of Genoa," *Journal of Economic History*, 24 (1964), 445–464; "Agenda for Medieval Studies," *Journal of Economic History*, 31 (1971), 165–171; etc.

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Description: Origin and development of West European economic growth between the tenth century and the fourteenth. Commerce as the leading factor in the transformation of a fundamentally agricultural society. Impact on other facets of medieval life. While the seminar was concerned with the dominant role of the urban centers of northern and central Italy, particular emphases were determined mainly by the preferences and preparation of the participants.

Fellows

Virginia M. Barsch (Art History, Stuart Country Day School, Princeton, N. J.)

Armand O. Citarella (Classics, St. Michael's College)

Albert C. Leighton (History, State University of New York at Oswego)

Carl J. Post (History, University of Kentucky)

III. LOVE IN MEDIEVAL THOUGHT AND LITERATURE

Senior Fellow: Dr. Edmund Reiss, Professor of English, Duke University. Taught successively at Suffolk University, Western Reserve University, Pennsylvania State University, and (from 1967) Duke. Dexter Travelling Fellow (1959); Huntington Library Fellowship (1965); ACLS Fellowship (1966-67); Pennsylvania State University Humanities Fellowship (1966-67); Duke Endowment Fellowship (1968-69; 1970-71). Co-editor, *The Chaucer Review* (1965-70); Associate editor, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1970-); editorial board, *Studies in Iconography* (1974-). Author: *Sir Thomas Malory* (1966); *Elements of Literary Analysis* (1967); *The Art of the Middle English Lyric: Essays in Criticism* (1972); "The Welsh Manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*," in *Yearbook of the American Philosophical Society* (1962); "The Welsh Versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*," *Welsh History Review. Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, 4 (1968), 97-127; "Religious Commonplaces and Poetic Artistry in the Middle English Lyric," *Style*, 4 (1970), 97-106; "The Birth of the Grail Quest," in *Innovation in Medieval Literature: Essays to the Memory of Alan Markman*, ed. D. Radcliff-Umstead (1971), pp. 20-34; "Symbolic Detail in Medieval Narrative: *Floris and Blancheflour*," *Papers on Language and Literature*, 7 (1971), 339-350; "Chaucer's Parodies of Love," in *Chaucer the Love Poet*, ed. J. Mitchell and W. Provost (1973), pp. 27-44; "Chau-

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cer's Courtly Love," in *The Lerner and the Lewed*, ed. L. Benson (1974), pp. 95-111; etc.

Description: Study of varieties of *amor* and *caritas* found in writings from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries. Works discussed were chosen from Latin and vernacular lyrics, romances, fabliaux and collections of tales, and accounts of love such as the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Vita Nuova*. Emphasis was on the relationship between Christian ideals and secular manifestations of love.

Fellows

Bette Lou Bakelaar (Romance Languages, Randolph-Macon College)
Michel-André R. Bossy (Comparative Literature, Brown University)
Thomas J. Elliott, Jr. (English, California State Polytechnic University)

Hubert P. Heinen (Germanic Languages, University of Texas)

Kitty Delle Robbins (French, Mississippi State University)

Janet L. Smarr (Comparative Literature)

P. Aloysius Thomas (French, University of Louisville)

Hope Phyllis Weissman (English, Wesleyan University)

IV. STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENTS IN EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY DUTCH AND FLEMISH ART

Senior Fellow: Dr. J. Richard Judson, William R. Kenan, Jr., Professor and Chairman of Art, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Taught at Smith College, Columbia University, and (from 1974) UNC, Chapel Hill. C.R.B. Fellow, Belgian-American Educational Foundation (1953); Fulbright Fellow (1954-55); Fulbright Prize Grant (1955-56); Guggenheim Fellow (1960-61); ACLS Grant-in-Aid (1974). Author: *Gerrit van Honthorst: A Discussion of His Position in Dutch Art* (1959); *Dirck Barendsz, 1534-1592* (1970); *The Drawings of Jacob de Gheyn* (1973); "Possible Additions to Crijn Hendricksz. Volmarijn," *Oud-Holland*, 70 (1955), 181-188; "Hamburg's 'Solon before Croesus' by Honthorst," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstmuseen*, 4 (1959), 51-60; "Dirck Barentsen 'die . . . de Grooten Titiaens Boesem heeft Ghenoten,'" *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten*, 11 (1962), 77-122; "Pictorial Sources for Rembrandt's 'Denial of St. Peter,'" *Oud-Holland*, 79 (1964),

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141-151; "Marine Symbols of Salvation in the 16th Century," in *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (1964), pp. 136-152; "Van Veen, Michelangelo and Zuccaro," in *Essays in Honor of Walter Friedländer* (1965), pp. 100-133; "A New Joos van Winghe Drawing," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (1972), pp. 37-40; "Rembrandt and Jacob de Gheyn II," in *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder* (1973), pp. 207-210; etc.

Description: Study of the stylistic developments in Dutch and Flemish art during the early decades of the sixteenth century. Special attention was given to the influence of Italian art upon Northern developments during this period. Also considered were the indigenous Netherlandish styles of the time, generally thought to have been dominated by Italian ideas.

Fellows

Lloyd W. Benjamin III (Art History, East Carolina University)
Miles L. Chappell (Fine Arts, College of William and Mary)
Patricia M. Gathercole (Foreign Languages, Roanoke College)
Marvin Lunenfeld (History, State University of New York at Fredonia)
Thomas C. Niemann (English, Northern Kentucky State College)
Larry A. Silver (History of Art, University of California at Berkeley)

V. ATTITUDES TOWARD KNOWLEDGE IN FRENCH RENAISSANCE LITERATURE

Senior Fellow: Dr. Marcel Tetel, Professor and Chairman of Romance Languages, Duke University. ACLS Grant-in-Aid (1963); Fulbright Grant (1966-67); Guggenheim Fellowship (1970); American Philosophical Society Grant (1973). Editor, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1971-). Author: *Étude sur le comique de Rabelais* (1964); *François Rabelais* (1967); *Rabelais et l'Italie* (1969); *Marguerite de Navarre's Heptameron: Themes, Language and Structure* (1973); *Montaigne* (1974); "La Valeur comique des accumulations verbales chez Rabelais," *Romanic Review*, 53 (1962), 96-104; "Mannerism in the Imagery of Sponde's *Sonnets de la Mort*," *Rivista di Letterature Moderne e Compare*, 21 (1968), 5-12; "Ambiguité chez Boccace et Marguerite de Navarre," in *Il Boccaccio nella Cultura*

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Francesca (1971), pp. 557-565; "Marguerite de Navarre et Montaigne: Relativisme et paradoxe," in *From Marot to Montaigne* (1972), pp. 125-135; "Montaigne: Evolution or Convolution?" in *Authors and Their Centuries*, ed. Phillip Crant (1973), pp. 23-39; "Science et inscience au XIVe siècle," in *Literature, the Visual Arts, and Music*, ed. John F. Winters and Paul Burrell (1974), pp. 4-16; "Montaigne et Pétrarque: Irrésolution et solitude," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1974), 203-220; "Conscience chez Montaigne et Pascal," *Saggi e Ricerche di Letteratura Francese*, 14 (1975), 9-35; "The Function and Meaning of the Mock Epic Framework in Rabelais," *Neophilologus*, 59 (1975), 157-164; etc.

Description: Attitudes toward knowledge in French Renaissance literature. The concepts of *science* and *inscience*, language and signs, the *poète mage*, "morosophy" (wise madness), consciousness, Humanism and the aborted light, natural knowledge and magic, and the notion of progress.

Fellows

Gary R. Ljungquist (Romance Languages, Wake Forest University)
Anne D. Lutkus (French Literature)
Margaret P. Sommers (Romance Languages, University of Missouri)
Elissa B. Weaver (Romance Languages, University of Chicago)
Ian J. Winter (French and Italian, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee)

VI. THE CONCEPT OF THE ENGLISH LITERARY RENAISSANCE

Senior Fellow: Dr. A. C. Hamilton, Professor of English, Queen's University, Canada. Taught at the University of Washington (1952-68). Huntington Library Fellow (1959-60); Canada Council Fellow (1974-75); Visiting Overseas Fellow, St. John's College, Cambridge University (1974-75). Author: *The Structure of Allegory in the Faerie Queene* (1961); *The Early Shakespeare* (1967); *Essential Articles for the Study of Edmund Spenser* (1972); "The Modern Study of Renaissance English Literature," *Modern Language Quarterly*, 26 (1965), 150-183; "Et in Arcadia Ego," *Modern Language Quarterly*, 27 (1966), 332-350; "Spenser's Pastoral," *English Literary History*, 33 (1966), 518-531; "Spenser and the Common Reader," *English Liter-*

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ary History, 35 (1968), 618-633; "Recent Studies in the English Renaissance," *Studies in English Literature*, 9 (1969), 169-197; "Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* as a Sonnet Sequence," *English Literary History*, 36 (1969), 59-87; "Sidney's *Arcadia* as Prose Fiction," *English Literary History*, 2 (1972), 29-60; "On Annotating Spenser's *Faerie Queene*," in *Contemporary Thought on Edmund Spenser*, ed. R. C. Frushell and B. J. Vondersmith (1975); etc.

Description: A study of the origin, nature, and development of the literary Renaissance in England as distinct from the cultural Renaissance in Europe. Selected authors from Sidney to Milton were examined, with special attention given to the principles of literary criticism which inform their works.

Fellows

Joseph Gibaldi (Comparative Literature, University of Georgia)
Elizabeth H. Hageman (English, University of New Hampshire)
Gary D. Hamilton (English, University of Maryland)
Bruce C. Henricksen (English, Loyola University of the South)
Edward C. Jacobs (English, Louisiana Tech University)
John N. King (English, Bates College)
James H. McGregor, Jr. (Comparative Literature)
Leigh Winsor (English, Seton Hall University)

